

Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars
throughout the Church

Founded by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME X

APRIL, 1928

NUMBER 4

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EDITED BY THE REV. FREDERICK CLIFTON GRANT, D.D., Dean of the Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, and the REV. BURTON SCOTT EASTON, D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation and Literature, General Theological Seminary, New York City

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SHOULD THE PRESENT CANON OF THE PROTEST- ANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH ON DIVORCE BE ALTERED?

By LUTHER B. MOORE, St. Peter's Church, Jamaica Plain, Boston

Church members are naturally sensitive on the subject of Church discipline. For whatever may be the doctrines and ideals inculcated by the Church, its canons and laws of discipline are always more immediately felt because they touch the lives of clergy and laity with the pressure of positive requirement. A proposal to alter radically any major canon of the Church will always arouse discussion, and especially when the canon concerned is the one dealing with marriage and divorce.

Criticism from two standpoints has been levelled against Canon 43 of the Episcopal Church, entitled, "Of the Solemnization of Matrimony." Some Churchmen, frequently called *Sacramentarians*, are in favor of altering it in the direction of greater strictness. Others, often called *Latitudinarians*, are in favor of altering it in the direction of greater leniency. These two classes have equally at heart the great need of improving the conduct of Church members with reference to marriage and divorce, but they differ radically as to how this can best be done.

Sacramentarians, emphasizing the belief that marriage is a sacrament and essentially indissoluble save by death, strenuously advocate the repeal of that portion of the canon which allows

"the innocent party in a divorce for adultery," under certain restrictions, to remarry. This canonical permission is branded by them as a "blot on the Church's code of discipline."¹ They would be satisfied with nothing less than a canon absolutely declining to recognize any divorce except separation from bed and board, divorce *a mensa et thoro*, which never carries with it permission to remarry. They would bind communicants of the Episcopal Church under no less restriction as to divorce than that embodied in the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Church of England.²

Latitudinarians, though also convinced that the Christian ideal of marriage is lifelong union, mistrust any effort to enforce by ecclesiastical law strict conformity to that ideal, believing that such an effort can only arouse resentment rather than obedience, and promote immoral conduct with regard to marriage rather than Christian conduct. They would therefore welcome a revision of the present canon on divorce which would allow remarriage when divorce has been obtained in the civil courts not only for adultery, but for some other causes also. Thus the present canon is censured from two opposite sides; and it becomes an urgent question whether it ought to be altered; and if so, to what extent.

I. THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL OF MARRIAGE

The problem of ecclesiastical legislation on marriage and divorce must be sharply distinguished from the preliminary question of ascertaining what is the Christian ideal of marriage. As to New Testament teaching, scarcely anyone of any standing in Biblical criticism today will deny that the exceptive clauses in St. Matthew, 5: 32 and 19: 9, permitting divorce "for the cause of fornication," are interpolations. That Jesus taught marriage to be indissoluble and divorce therefore to be wholly unjustifiable has for some time been pretty generally agreed upon by practically all recognized Christian scholars, Protestant and Catholic. How

¹ Walker Gwynne, *Divorce in America under State and Church*, p. 140.

² G. H. Box and Charles Gore, *Divorce in the New Testament*, p. 41.

could Jesus teach anything less perfect when He was setting forth the ideals of His Kingdom?

Given the absolute indissolubility of marriage as the true Christian ideal to be furthered by the Church and realized in the lives of her members, by no means does it follow that this ideal should be bodily enacted into canon law. Jesus never legislated on divorce or anything else. Miss Maude Royden well declares:

"I claim that there is no ground whatever for a more rigid interpretation of our Lord's teaching about marriage than about taking oaths or praying in public."³

Dr. Gwynne calmly dismisses such opinion with the remark that "Resort to such methods of 'interpretation' robs language of its meaning, and can hardly command the respect of intelligent people."⁴ Such a retort is more emphatic than convincing. Many quite intelligent and honorable people, among them Dr. Martensen⁵ and P. T. Forsyth,⁶ share Miss Royden's opinion, believing that on marriage as well as on every other ethical problem Jesus was occupied in setting forth the perfect principles of the Kingdom of God, and not in prescribing laws of discipline to be enforced by future ecclesiastical authority.

Sacramentarians usually admit that the Christian ideal of marriage cannot properly be enforced by civil statutes, on the ground that "The kingdoms of the world have not yet become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ."⁷ Neither has the Church yet become "without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing"; and in the effort to enforce perfect righteousness in marriage or any other relationship, the Church is just as impotent with its weapon of excommunication as is the State with its police force. Obedience to the Christian ideal can be secured and maintained only by the inward possession of spiritual power and divine grace in the lives of men and women, and no law of any kind can confer that grace and power upon any individual.

³ A. Maude Royden, *Sex and Commonsense*, p. 107.

⁴ Walker Gwynne, *Divorce in America under State and Church*, pp. 91, 92.

⁵ H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics (Social)*, pp. 42, 43.

⁶ P. T. Forsyth, *Marriage: Its Ethic and Religion*, pp. 25, 27.

⁷ Walker Gwynne; *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Why should Sacramentarians stress the fact that the present canon touching divorce, because it allows remarriage on one condition, does not fully agree with the Prayer Book service for the "Solemnization of Matrimony"?⁸ Does the Church endeavor to enforce by her laws the counsels of perfection set forth in her other Prayer Book services? Has she any canons which pronounce sentence of excommunication upon all who fail to keep perfectly the vows taken in Baptism and Confirmation? Certainly not. Every attempt to enforce perfect conduct by ecclesiastical law rather than to cultivate it as the fruit of the Spirit must savour of Pharisaic legalism and not of the mind of Christ.

A canon on marriage and divorce ought to be framed not merely with reference to the Christian ideal, but more especially with reference to that further understanding of the Christian ethic of marriage which has to do with unions that are *not ideal*. Sever not the marriage tie: let husband and wife "ever remain in perfect love and peace together"—so the Church teaches, and so we pray at every wedding. But suppose sin *does* sever the tie! What has Christian ethics to say then? However clearly Jesus taught that marriage ought to be indissoluble, He always placed the strongest emphasis upon spiritual reality in all relationships, and can not fairly be interpreted as teaching that a married couple should be held bound to each other by law when there no longer exists any spiritual bond between them.

But it is objected that sin can not possibly sever the marriage union. "It is true," writes Dr. Gwynne, "that the soul being a free agent may ignominiously fail to fulfill its part, and thus profane the union. *But it cannot destroy the union.* The existence of children gives visible witness that the bond of the 'one flesh' abides."⁹ From this it must appear that a childless marriage lacks all essential reality, and that if a child is born in wedlock and dies, the death of the child destroys the union! No: the essence of true marriage is nothing physical, like child-bearing;

⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 100, 139.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 106.

it is a moral and spiritual reality—the mutual love of husband and wife.

Sacramentarians tell us that true love cannot die.¹⁰ Let us not deceive ourselves. As surely as the soul may apostatize from its love for God, so surely may it apostatize from its true love, in marriage. As surely as a man may so sin as utterly to renounce his vows taken in Baptism and Confirmation, so surely may he sin to the complete breaking of his marriage vows. Sin can and sometimes does kill love; to deny this is to deny the most tragic yet most conspicuous truth in the moral universe.

To admit the fact that sin can kill love is of course to admit the logic of divorce. Not but what many divorces are granted for insufficient reasons. But when rightly granted, divorce is simply the recognition that the marriage has become a complete failure. Some speak of divorce as if it were designed to cure the ills of married life. Others speak of it as if it were synonymous with immorality, as if it were the very agent that kills love and marriage. But it is the proper function of divorce to speak only when the inward moral disease which destroys the marriage union has reached a fatal consummation. Divorce is never properly symbolized by the physician who treats ills to cure them, nor by the assassin who inflicts a mortal wound, but by the honest coroner who—after a fatality—holds an inquest and issues a death certificate.

II. THE PRESENT CANON EXAMINED

Let us consider more particularly the present canon of the Church on marriage and divorce. It shares one primary fault with all other marriage laws in the United States, civil and ecclesiastical; namely, that it permits a clergyman to officiate at a wedding as an officer of the government. In this situation we have a single surviving relic of the long-since discredited mediæval doctrine of the union of Church and State. Why should the Church have anything to do with the civil legality of any marriage? Should not the Church confine itself to dealing with

¹⁰ *Ib.*, pp. 107-110.

the moral character of marriage unions? The civil legality of a marriage is one thing: its moral character is something else. Would it not be more in harmony with the Christian principle of the separation of Church and State for all marriages to be performed by justices of the peace? If that were done, the Church could provide a service for the *blessing* of a marriage, and then admit to that service only those couples whose union it could sanction as a Christian union. Thus the Church, standing apart from the State, and on a distinctly higher level, could most effectively bring to bear upon marriage the force of the Christian ideal. Whether the Church approved or disapproved of a specific marriage union would be a clear-cut issue.

To bring about such a result, it would be necessary to revise not only the present canon on marriage and divorce, but also the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony in the Book of Common Prayer. This form would need to be altered but little, however, in order to change it from a legal binding to a blessing pronounced by the Church upon the marriage. Almost the only change necessary would be in the declaration just preceding the benediction: instead of saying, "I pronounce you man and wife," the minister would say, "I pronounce the blessing of God upon you as man and wife."

Since the present canon recognizes no divorce except that secured for adultery, it does not fairly consider most of the sins that sever the marriage tie. Many Christians believe that remarriage ought to be made possible for some who have been divorced for causes other than adultery. Bishops have sanctioned by their presence weddings at which they could not officiate because of the present canon of the Church. Other Episcopal clergymen have been known to advise members of their own parishes who had previously been divorced for causes other than adultery, and who desired to be remarried, to go to ministers of other churches to be married.

Those who object to the present canon as too drastic do not urge that the Church need ever sanction the breaking of the mar-

riage tie for any reason whatever. Considering the Christian ideal of marriage, the breaking of that tie under any and every circumstance is a sin, a hideous sin, and no apology can justify it. The real question is, When that sin, hideous as it is, has been committed; and the marriage tie, sacred as it is, has been actually and irremediably broken, what shall the Church do? Many are convinced that the Church, having its eyes always upon spiritual reality, ought to be prepared to recognize the fact when a marriage has been severed by sin. They see the duty of the Church in much the same light as that in which Maude Royden sees the duty of the State, when she says:

"When seriously and persistently a man and a woman believe that their marriage never was or has ceased to be real, surely their persistent and considered opinion ought to be enough for the State to act upon. Let no one be allowed to give up in haste. Let no one fling responsibility aside easily. Let it always be a question of long consideration, of advice from friends, perhaps even from judges. But I cannot help feeling that when through years this conviction that there is no reality in a marriage persists, this is the one really decent and sufficient reason for declaring that marriage is dissolved."¹¹

Other sins besides adultery may dissolve the marriage tie; and if the present canon of the Church were altered in such a way as to recognize that fact, the Church would not thereby be guilty of sanctioning the sin which caused the dissolution any more than it is now guilty of sanctioning adultery by virtue of its present canon. It would simply be looking other sins besides adultery fairly in the face, and frankly acknowledging their evil consequences.

For many reasons, the present canon has very little effect toward arousing among Christians any high regard for the Christian ideal of marriage. It purposely ignores the sad plight of those innocent persons whose marriage has been irredeemably broken by causes other than adultery, causes for which they are not to blame. Because no evil, which in the eyes of Church law is so sinful as adultery, has been committed, such persons are evidently expected to suffer all the rest of their lives in loneliness and regret. If the pressure of this present canon were not

¹¹ A. Maude Royden, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

always easily relieved by the possibility of being remarried by going to ministers outside of the Episcopal Church, it would probably operate to produce the same baneful results as we find produced by the civil statute of New York State, which, like this canon, forbids remarriage unless divorce has been secured for adultery. There, since the law is satisfied by nothing less than adultery, evidence of adultery is produced even if it has to be manufactured. When the New York law is so productive of immorality, how can the present canon of the Episcopal Church, which resembles that law so closely, be expected to promote profound respect for the Christian ideal of marriage?

Furthermore, the present canon does not even permit the remarriage of many innocent persons whose marriage *has* been severed by the adultery of the other party. In most divorce cases where adultery can be proved with no difficulty, lawyers representing the innocent party advise such a client to sue for divorce on grounds other than adultery in order to avoid embarrassment and scandal. Frequently everyone especially concerned in a divorce case knows full well that adultery is the reason why divorce is being sought, yet all this is purposely masked by suing on the ground of non-support, incompatibility, or desertion. The technicalities of the present canon make it impossible for one who has received a divorce decree specifying such lesser grounds as we have named, to be remarried by an Episcopal clergyman even though that clergyman has positive information that the previous marriage was dissolved because adultery had been committed by the previous guilty spouse.

The most serious charge to be brought against the present canon is that it provides no means to guarantee that the marriage entered into shall be a Christian marriage. It looks wholly to the past, and not at all to the future. Under its provisions the Church may bless the marriage of any man and woman, provided only that neither of them has previously been divorced for any cause other than adultery. Many marriages are entered into merely for reasons of family, convenience, or worldly state. Many men

and women marry only to acquire wealth, a title, or membership in a social class. Some women marry only because of economic dependence. Surely any marriage which is entered into for any such ulterior reasons is just so much less than moral, less than Christian.

Canon law should aim not so much to determine whether a previous marriage was severed on some technical ground or other, as primarily whether a contemplated marriage is entered into with Christian aims, and bids fair to be a Christian success. This last is the chief question concerning which the Church should always be mainly interested. Of course, in part this question should be determined by reference to any previous marital experience of either or both parties seeking to be remarried. Obviously, if either or both parties have made shipwreck of marriage in a former union, it is open to question whether they have any conception of the sacredness of the marriage relation. It is essential also to know whether a previous marriage has actually ceased to have any reality, but that cannot be determined solely by reference to court records. If the previous union has not lost all reality, a man or a woman seeking remarriage should be admonished by the Church properly to seek to renew marriage relations with the former spouse, even though a decree of divorce has been granted.

In the main, the rightfulness of marriage or remarriage should be determined by ascertaining whether both parties understand and appreciate the Christian ideal of marriage as meant to be indissoluble; whether they are loyal at heart to Christian principles, and seriously intend to live faithfully together according to God's holy ordinance till death parts them. Some such substantial assurance of Christian fitness for marriage would be far more useful to the Church in its endeavor to conserve the Christian ideal of marriage than the mere ascertainment that a previous marriage had been severed by adultery rather than by some other sin.

It is a sad mistake for Canon Law to sentence to excommunica-

tion all who are married not in accordance with the requirements of the Church. Even after a man and a woman have been married contrary to the Church's discipline, often they may so live together as to make their union over into a truly Christian marriage. The strict Sacramentarian would deny such a possibility. He would favor refusing the sacraments of the Church to any person married otherwise than as the present discipline of the Church allows. It is for the purpose of sanctioning such refusal that Section IV has been added to our Canon 43. For the Church to resort to an action so extreme is condemned by such theologians as Martensen, who says:

"The Church must never regard the tie between the Lord and the baptized man who has fallen into sin as absolutely broken, though it is indeed loosened. . . . A Church discipline carried to extreme can scarcely escape the Donatist heresy, which dreams of an absolutely pure Church and an absolutely pure table. And all rigorous discipline, carried out, as it always is, with very fallible human vision, will always run the risk of excluding the publican instead of the Pharisee."¹²

Much less is to be achieved by the force of excommunication in the effort to raise the level of obedience to the Christian standard of marriage than by the power of Christian teaching, influence, and example.

III. SUGGESTED ALTERATION OF THE PRESENT CODE

Would it not mark an intelligent advance in the right direction for Canon Law to provide for the creation of a body or council of Churchmen and Church women in each diocese, representative of both clergy and laity, and presided over by the bishop, to which should be referred all contemplated marriages concerning which any question might be raised? Such a council could determine whether the contemplated union were one which the Church could sanction. Decision in every instance should be reached not by following *a priori* rules, but by full and free examination of each case on its own merits, and by questioning both parties. This procedure could be safeguarded from the em-

¹² H. Martensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 331, 332.

barrassment of publicity, and could be as simple and earnest and candid as an examination by a group of Quaker elders when seeking to learn whether a candidate for membership in a Quaker community is worthy of admission. If the council conducted all its deliberations and examinations with high and full regard for the Christian ideal of marriage as a special extension of the Kingdom of God, and at the same time with an intelligent understanding of human nature, seeking to educate the membership of the diocese up to the level of that ideal, much could be accomplished toward arousing the conscience of the whole Church.

In the consideration of a contemplated marriage where one of the parties has previously been divorced, the council should not allow the mere fact of a previous divorce to be a deciding factor as to whether the Church could approve the contemplated marriage. The circumstances of the previous marriage and divorce should be frankly and tactfully investigated. If it be found that the party seeking remarriage had made every reasonable effort to preserve the previous marriage relation, but that the other spouse, by adultery, cruelty, willful desertion, failure to support, habitual drunkenness, or the commission of crime resulting in life imprisonment, or any other evil cause, had broken the marriage beyond repair, the circumstance should not be allowed to stand in the way of contemplated remarriage on the part of the innocent party.

Even in extreme cases where investigation should disclose it to be a fact that a man or a woman seeking the Church's approval of a contemplated marriage had been guilty of gross immorality and illicit sexual relations, the council should not refuse its sanction of future marriage, provided the guilty party made full and free acknowledgment of past sins and registered a sincere and hearty determination to enter upon the future marriage in faithful obedience to the laws of God. Thus would the council emulate the example of our Lord, who said to a most sinful woman, after he had seen evidence of her true penitence, "Go and sin no more."

But can the Church afford to sanction the repetition of mar-

riage vows by those who have already violated them to the extent of being divorced? This problem has called forth the following fruitful suggestion from Dr. Martensen:

"For those cases in which the Church is obliged to perform the transaction—sad in itself, and manifesting the imperfect condition of the Church—of marrying the divorced, it would be well that a special formulary, differing from that in ordinary use, should be employed."¹³

In harmony with this suggestion it would be well to revise the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony in the Prayer Book, introducing into it a brief form of confession by which a man or a woman who had been divorced, might, before being remarried, make honest acknowledgment of past sin in failing to live up to the requirements of the Christian ideal of marriage, and give evidence of a complete change of heart regarding the sanctity of marriage vows.

Whether the present canon on divorce is altered or not, the Church, in its efforts to bring about a higher general attainment toward the Christian ideal of marriage, ought always to rely more upon the influence of Christian teaching than upon the compulsion of Canon Law. Real reform depends not so much upon the revision of laws as upon the quickening of the consciences of men and women. This quickening is coming everywhere with the increasingly freer expression of opinion on marriage and divorce. Today is the great day of the Church's opportunity to clarify her own mind on this question by fuller reference to the mind of Christ, and then to speak out clearly in God's name, insisting on the preservation of the Christian ideal of marriage, and—with all intelligent understanding of human frailties and follies—nobly aiding men and women to live up to that high ideal.

¹³ H. Martensen, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND STATE IN THE FEUDAL ANARCHY

By CLIFFORD P. MOREHOUSE, Managing Editor *The Living Church*

The scope of this paper is two-fold: to present the state of the English Church in the second quarter of the twelfth century as a background for a study of the quarrels between King Henry II and St. Thomas Becket, and to consider this state as a critical stage in the development of the constitutional relations of Church and State.

I. THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH AT STEPHEN'S ACCESSION

Of first importance in the consideration of our subject is a clear conception of what the Church in England was in the Middle Ages and how it fitted into the feudal and national system. Was it feudal or was it national? Was it of native growth or foreign importation? Was it superior or subservient to the State? Was it dependent upon King or Pope? All of these are questions of the first magnitude, and they must be answered before our subject can be treated more in detail. Perhaps the best approach to them will be a brief historical summary, which will place the Church of Stephen's reign in the proper perspective.

The history of the Church of England is a continuous narrative, and it is intimately dependent upon the history of the State of England. The one cannot be studied without the other, for each has had a profound effect upon the other, and in every age their fortunes have been intertwined.

How the Church came to England is not our immediate concern. Suffice it to say that from the first Cross and Crown were closely linked. The conversion of the little kingdoms of the sixth and seventh centuries usually began with the King and spread downward to his subjects. Yet the Church was essentially a local

institution until the primacy of Theodore of Tarsus, enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury in 668, four years after the Council of Whitby had secured doctrinal and disciplinary unity throughout England. The work of Archbishop Theodore was the organization of a nationwide Church, and in so doing he laid a foundation on which the kingdoms of the heptarchy might unite to form one national State.

The English Church thus preceded the English State. So it was that Church and State at first worked together harmoniously—a situation almost unique in the world of the day. Recognizing no distinctions among the several kingdoms, the clergy helped to break down such distinctions in the lay mind. Moreover the clergy were native-born for the most part, and as they travelled to distant parts of the island they were a living memorial to the essential national unity of Englishmen.

When England became a nation, as it did through the dual unifying influence of the Church and the Danish wars, Church and State went hand in hand in the organization and maintenance of order and the furtherance of the national welfare. "From the first," says Professor Taswell-Langmead,¹ "the Church entered into the closest alliance with the State, and while paying respectful deference to the Roman see, grew up with a distinctly marked national character."

By the tenth century there was little distinction, for administrative and legal purposes, between Church and State. The bishops were important members of the King's witan, and in the shire and hundred courts clerical and lay officials had joint jurisdiction. If the nominal sphere of the Church was over men's souls and of the State over their bodies, no such line was drawn in the actual working of the system of local government nor in the King's council. In fact, since education was the possession almost exclusively of the higher clergy, it was natural that most important offices should be filled by them.

The Norman Conquest gave a new turn to the relations of

¹ *English Constitutional History*, p. 10.

Church and State. The Conqueror's influence on the Church was two-fold: he separated the spiritual and temporal courts by his famous Ordinance² and he maintained the ancient supremacy of the State by his refusal to recognize Pope Gregory VII as suzerain and by his canons of royal supremacy.³

Nevertheless it was inevitable that the English Church should become feudalized to a large extent by the Conquest, and that it should come more fully under the influence of Rome. It will be remembered that Duke William undertook the invasion of England with the papal blessing, and that he was therefore under no little obligation to Gregory VII. Probably this was the real reason for his concession to the Church of independent ecclesiastical courts, though other reasons have been freely alleged.⁴ But it was fortunate that England had a strong King capable of resisting a powerful Pope. William, almost alone among European monarchs, would have nothing to do with Hildebrand's policy of placing Rome at the head of a world-wide ecclesiastico-political empire.

With the Conquest came a great influx of Norman bishops, and

² "Propterea mando et regia auctoritate præcipio, ut nullus episcopus vel archidiaconus de legibus episcopalibus amplius in hundred placita teneant, nec causam quæ ad regimen animarum pertinet ad iudicium secularium hominum adducant, sed quicumque secundum episcopales leges, de quacunque causa vel culpa, interpellatus fuerit, ad locum quem ad hoc episcopus elegerit et nominaverit veniat, ibique de causa vel culpa sua respondeat, et non secundum hundred, sed secundum canones et episcopales leges rectum Deo et episcopo suo faciat." Stubbs: *Select Charters*, p. 99.

³ Taswell-Langmead, generalizing from Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, lib. i, summarizes these as follows (*Eng. Const. Hist.*, p. 76):

1. That no Pope should be acknowledged, or papal letters received, in England, without the King's consent.

2. That the decrees of national synods should not be binding without the King's confirmation.

3. That the King's barons and officers should not be excommunicated or constrained by any penalty of ecclesiastical rigor, without his permission.

⁴ For example: That the intention was to increase the power of the Norman bishops, or that it was a reward to the Church for renouncing its opposition to William's demand that all capable of bearing arms should take an oath of fealty directly to the King. Makower: *Const. Hist. of Ch. of Eng.*, p. 14, note 6.

from this time until the Reformation the sees of England and many of her monasteries and parishes were in the hands of foreign ecclesiastics. The Church, like the State, remained essentially national, but it was overlaid with a thick crust of feudalism. Thenceforth in both institutions these rival forces struggled for supremacy. Where the King was strong, State and Church tended to be national; where he was weak, the tendency was toward feudalism.

Under William Rufus the feudal trend was in the ascendancy. The Church grew not only feudal but corrupt. The royal supremacy, which had been a bulwark of freedom to the Church under the Conqueror, became an instrument of tyranny under the Red King. It was his practice to keep episcopal sees vacant as long as possible and to appropriate their revenues for his own use; a practice forbidden in 1100 by Henry I in his Charter of Liberties.⁵ William II feared that an independent clerical organization under the Archbishop of Canterbury would be a threat to his own power, therefore after the death of Lanfranc in 1089 he kept the primacy vacant as long as possible. Although after four years he was inveigled into the appointment of St. Anselm to the archiepiscopal see, he refused to the last permission to hold a general council of the Church.⁶ Corruption, fostered by the King, was widespread in the Church.⁷

⁵ "Sciatis me Dei misericordia et communi consilio baronum totius regni Angliæ ejusdem regni regem coronatum esse; et quia regnum oppressum erat injustis exactionibus, ego, Dei respectu et amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, sanctam Dei ecclesiam imprimis liberam facio, ita quod nec vendam nec ad firman ponam, nec mortuo archiepiscopo sive episcopo sive abbate aliquid accipiam de dominio ecclesie vel de hominibus ejus donec successor in eam ingrediatur." Cap i, Cart. Lib. Hen. Prim., *Select Ch.*, p. 117. Cf. the phrase "sanctam . . . facio" with the famous provision in Magna Charta "quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit" (M. C. Joh. art. i).

⁶ Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, year 1094. See also the chronicle of Hugo of Flavigny, rep. in *Monumenta German.*

⁷ "God's Church he desecrated, and the bishoprics and abbacies whose heads (ealdras) fell in his day, he either sold for money (wið feo) or kept in his own hand and farmed them out to rent, so that he might be the heir of every man, whether priest or layman." *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 1100.

William Rufus' reign, though a weak one, is important because of the stimulus given feudalism. The weak reigns of English history are too generally neglected. It should never be forgotten that laws are in the first place almost invariably remedies for existing evils. Good laws enacted by a strong King or by some power in defiance of a weak King are usually corrections of the abuses of a weak or evil King. Most of the great English rights and liberties have so arisen. There would have been no Charter of liberties but for the evil deeds of the Red King, no Magna Charta but for the weakness of John. Nor, as we shall see presently, could Henry II have built his highly centralized administrative system had not the nobles exhausted themselves in civil war during the Feudal Anarchy.

Henry I at his succession promised to abstain from selling or farming out Church lands or keeping episcopal sees vacant, as we have already noted. Whatever Henry's forte may have been, it was not lawgiving. His Charter of Liberties is the only legislative act of his reign; except for that he was content with restoring what he regarded as "lagam (legem) Eadwardi." If his ideas of the law of Edward the Confessor often showed an originality which that ineffectual monarch would not have recognized, so much more credit to the astuteness and ability of the "Lion of Justice."

Of overshadowing importance to the Church historian in Henry's reign is the dispute between St. Anselm and the King. It is impossible and unnecessary to go into the details of the struggle here, although the main points are important for their influence on the succeeding reign, and as a precedent for the quarrel half a century later between St. Thomas Becket and King Henry II.

The dispute hinged upon the subject of investiture.* Returning at Henry's invitation to the see of Canterbury, whence he had

* A good brief account of the struggle may be found in ch. vi of Stephens' *The English Church*. The best primary authority is Eadmer, who was Anselm's chaplain. His *Historia Novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*, both in the Rolls series, are indispensable for a complete study of the subject.

retired to the continent owing to differences with William II, Anselm refused to do the King the accustomed homage. He denied, moreover, the King's right to invest new bishops with the pastoral ring and staff, and refused to consecrate such bishops-elect. A ruling was obtained from Pope Pascal II, who was engaged in a similar dispute with the German emperors, supporting Anselm's stand. King and archbishop waged a long and bitter strife on the subject, which was settled in 1107 by a compromise. It is this settlement, rather than the dispute itself, in which we are primarily interested. By the terms of the compromise,⁹ the King surrendered his claim to invest prelates with the symbols of their spiritual authority, while Anselm acknowledged the King's right to demand homage from the clergy for their temporal possessions.

The settlement was of the utmost importance in two ways: it drew a sharp line between the religious and temporal powers of the King, denying his supremacy in the former and maintaining it in the latter; and it revealed the Church as the only real check upon the absolutism of the King. "How largely this was the case," says Bishop Stubbs,¹⁰ "appears from the fact that it is from the clergy only that any real check upon the royal power proceeds for more than a century."

How do all these things bear upon the Church of Stephen's reign? Simply in this way: they illustrate the two conflicting forces in the relations between the English Church and State. On the one hand there is the tendency toward a national Church, spiritually independent, though doctrinally Catholic, temporally allied with the crown of England. On the other hand is the tendency toward a subordinate Church, dependent spiritually upon a foreign ecclesiastical Prince, doctrinally bound by the decrees of foreign prelates (bound today, if the tendency had been carried to its logical conclusion, by the decree of a single foreign prelate), tem-

⁹ No text survives; the only accounts are in the contemporary chronicles. Eadmer, though not a witness, gives probably the most reliable report of the settlement (*Hist. Nov.*, p. 186). Probably his account is based on the Pope's letter to Anselm in 1106, which is mentioned by the chronicler, but which is not now in existence.

¹⁰ *Select Charters*, p. 112.

porally hostile, or at best suspiciously neutral, toward the crown of England. The former tendency finally triumphed, but in Stephen's reign the latter tendency gained a strong impetus and for a time threatened to be the dominant one. Therefore the Anarchy was, I believe, a vital point in English Church history. A powerful Pope or a strong primate with papal sympathies might well have so closely linked the English Church with the see of Rome as to make impossible the *via media* which she has followed, albeit often with great difficulty, through her stormy post-Reformation history.

II. A LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS

Historians have been too willing to dismiss the period from 1135 to 1154 by quoting the words of a contemporary chronicler: "Men said that Christ and His saints were asleep." Be that as it may, the stream of English history flowed on unchecked, and the influence upon later events of this dark period is more far-reaching than is apparent at first glance.

Evidence of the total collapse of the English State during the Feudal Anarchy are abundant. Gardiner¹¹ compares the effect of the relaxation of royal discipline to the dropping asunder of a bundle of faggots when the band is loosened. The chronicles of the period abound with tales of anarchy, of the erection of adulterine castles, of robbery, oppression, rape, and arson unchecked. The orderly development of the English constitution was indeed checked, but two important institutions not only withstood the storm but emerged stronger and more highly developed. Upon one of these, municipal government, we cannot comment here; upon the other, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, we can and will.

Throughout this turbulent period the Church alone carried on the traditions of law and order. It was, strangely enough, a period of great monastic activity. Everywhere houses of charity were springing up. Most of the new orders were offshoots of the Augustinian order. From Palestine the Hospitaliers and Templars returned to continue their pious work on English soil;

¹¹ G. and M., *Introd. to Eng. Hist.*, p. 55.

from the continent came the Cistercians, the Austinians, the White Canons, and many others, "for," says William of Newburgh,¹² "in the short while that Stephen reigned, or rather bore the title of King, there arose in England many more dwellings of the servants and handmaids of God than had arisen there in the course of the whole previous century." Of this movement the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux was the patron—but of him and his work we shall see more presently.

From the constitutional viewpoint, three prelates were of primary importance to Church and State: Roger of Salisbury, chief justiciar¹³ from 1135 to 1139, Henry of Winchester, nephew of the late King and brother of King Stephen, and Theobald of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1139 to 1161.

The death of King Henry left Bishop Roger in virtual control of the administrative machinery of the realm. Roger's control was exercised through the simple expedient of getting all the chief governmental offices into the hands of his own family. His son Roger was the King's chancellor, and his nephew Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was treasurer, while a second nephew, Alexander, was Bishop of Lincoln. It was to Bishop Roger and his family, together with Bishop Henry of Winchester, that Stephen owed his crown. For if Henry was the king-maker, it was only through his influence with Roger and his family that the control of the State machinery was secured.

The Bishop of Winchester was a truly remarkable man, and he it was who piloted both State and Church through the first seven years of Stephen's reign. Brought up in the famous abbey of Cluny in Italy, Henry was summoned in 1126 by King Henry his uncle to be abbot of Glastonbury, whence, three years later, he was raised to the bishopric of the important see of Winchester. It was not long before Bishop Henry became recognized as a leader in affairs ecclesiastical and lay. A devout Churchman and monk, Henry naturally took an important part in the religious

¹² Will. Newb., lib. i, cap. 15.

¹³ "Justiciarius fuit totius Angliæ et secundus a rege." Henry of Huntingdon, fol. 218.

revival that was beginning, and his royal connections made his participations in high affairs of state equally natural. The young bishop was astute and watchful; he cleverly wrested the helm of the State from the Bishop of Salisbury, and the weak William, Archbishop of Canterbury, was as clay in his hands.

Henry's personal influence was an important factor in making his brother King. It was Henry who welcomed Stephen upon his arrival in England, and it was Henry who accepted before the Archbishop responsibility for the King's good behavior toward the Church.¹⁴ When Bishop Roger fell a few years later, the bishop having incurred the King's wrath on account of the wealth and numerous castles in the possession of his family,¹⁵ the machinery of secular government completely broke down. At about the same time, on March 1, 1139,¹⁶ Henry received his legatine commission from Rome. Although Theobald had just been elected Archbishop of Canterbury two months before, this new dignity gave the Bishop of Winchester the real control of the Church, and he also wielded the highest power in the State—which was, however, little enough.

The arrest of Bishop Roger was the signal for open civil war. In September the Empress Matilda landed in England, and Bishop Henry was sent to meet her. Vainly he tried to mediate between King and Empress, but when Stephen fell into her hands at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, he openly took her side and secured her election as Queen in April of that year.¹⁷ In the ensuing war Henry attempted to arbitrate between the two forces; a policy most embarrassing to the primate, who seems to have consistently favored the Empress.

¹⁴ "Quapropter districto sacramento quod a Stephano Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus exegit de libertate reddenda ecclesiae et conservanda, episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et vadem apposuit. Cujus sacramenti tenorem, postea scripto inditum, loco suo non prætermittam." Will. Malmsb., p. 704. See comment of Mr. J. H. Round on this, in *Geoff. Mand.*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 47 ff. Will. Malmsb., p. 718.

¹⁶ Will. Malmsb., 471.

¹⁷ But see pp. 56, 57 of *Gesta Steph.*, where Henry is represented as favoring the Empress from the time of her arrival in England.

The relations between Henry and Theobald were, indeed, of great constitutional importance to the Church. We have endeavored to show that the Church of England up to this period was essentially national—acknowledging, it is true, the primacy of the Pope, but autonomous and mainly self-sufficient. One feature of this autonomy was the exemption of England, from very early times, from legatine control.¹⁸ Papal envoys were received, but only for special purposes, and only under the control of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was himself *legatus natus*. Attempts in the reign of Henry I to break down this customary exemption—notably the high-handed actions of Cardinal John of Crema, who though only a priest, exercised powers above those of an archbishop—led to Archbishop William's visit of protest to Rome, whence he returned as a *legatus a latere*.

At William's death, Henry of Winchester seemed his logical successor. But for some obscure reason Pope Innocent II apparently refused his consent for Henry's translation from Winchester to Canterbury, and so Theobald, Abbot of Bec, was elected. But Innocent, desiring a resident legate in England, appointed Henry *a latere*, because he knew his reputation well, whereas Theobald was as yet unknown. The result of this appointment was a great source of strength to Henry, who was, perhaps, best fitted to wield his legatine power, but it was a source of spiritual weakness to the Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury had been traditionally the real head of the English Church; never before had one of his own suffragans been elevated above him by decree of a foreign power.

The effect of the elevation of a suffragan to the legacy was apparent in the case of the Archbishop of York. Upon the death of Archbishop Thurstan, the aged hero of the Battle of the Standard, in 1140,¹⁹ William, a nephew of the King and of Bishop Henry, was elected over the protest of a minority of the York chapter, who claimed that undue influence had been used in the

¹⁸ Norgate, *England under the Ang. Kings*, p. 350.

¹⁹ John Hexh. (Raine), p. 130.

election. Theobald refused to consecrate William, and Henry hesitated to assume full authority to do so. An appeal to the Pope by the legate obtained the approval of the supreme pontiff if certain persons should declare under oath the legality of his election, whereupon Henry triumphantly consecrated his nephew in defiance of Theobald. Clearly, then, the supreme power in the English Church rested neither with the King nor with the primate, but with the Pope. Such was the tendency of the Church in this reign, and herein lies its importance. It was the first great threat to the autonomy of *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

The evil was temporarily remedied, though the question of vesting the legation in a subordinate diocesan was left in abeyance, by the death of Innocent and his succession by Celestine II, who gave the legatine appointment to the Archbishop of Canterbury. His successor, Lucius II, appointed no legate to England.

III. RELIGIOUS REFORM AND THE OVERTHROW OF STEPHEN

St. Bernard of Clairvaux was the leader of a movement which had a considerable effect upon the national growth of England. How the simple Cistercian monk came to exercise a power greater than King or Pope, and how he wielded that power for the religious uplift of Christendom is a fascinating story, but it is no part of the present narrative. Here we can touch upon only that phase of his work that affected England.

Through his mouthpiece, Pope Eugene II,²⁰ Bernard directed the preaching of a holy war to deliver the realm of the Angevin Queen Melisande in Palestine from the infidels. The crusade was a failure, except for a little expedition of middle-class Englishmen who, stopping in Portugal en route to the Holy Land, delivered that country from its Moorish oppressors.

This expedition increased Bernard's interest in the English Church, and he directed the members of his order to fight for the restoration of the rightful authority of the primatial see. By

²⁰ He succeeded Lucius II in 1145, and was a Cistercian monk owing obedience to St. Bernard.

his influence, Bernard managed to withhold the pall from William, archbishop-elect of York, until he should fulfill the Pope's demand that the validity of his election be proved. This demand included an oath from the Bishop of Durham, which had been given by proxy but which was demanded in person. Upon William's failure to comply with this demand, Pope Eugene suspended him from all episcopal functions. William retired to Cluny, his old monastery, but his friends attempted revenge by destroying Fountains, the abbey of Murdac, head of the Cistercian order in England. This outrage sealed William's doom. At Paris in 1147 Eugene deposed him, and Murdac was later chosen to succeed him.

At the same time another crisis was taking place in the province of Canterbury. When Archbishop Theobald asked the royal permission to attend a council summoned by the Pope to meet at Reims, Stephen refused, and swore that he would banish the archbishop if he left the country. But Theobald slipped away with two companions, one of them the youthful Thomas Becket, and attended the council. The Pope, angry at Stephen's action and at the failure of numbers of English prelates to attend, suspended the latter, though Henry of Winchester was allowed six months' grace on condition that he visit Rome in that period. Eugene would have excommunicated Stephen but for Theobald's plea; the King's gratitude was expressed by banishing the archbishop and seizing the temporalities of his see.

During the ensuing negotiations, Theobald gradually came to support the youthful Henry of Anjou. The climax came with the appointment by the Pope of Gilbert Foliot, the annalist, as Bishop of Hereford. Theobald consecrated him at St. Omer, in France, on condition that he do temporal homage, not to Stephen, but to the Norman duke. It was a sign of the times that the King could not fail to heed. Upon the reconciliation of Duke Henry and Stephen, Theobald returned to England, and the suspended bishops, with the exception of Henry of Winchester, were reinstated. The Archbishop of Canterbury was vindicated, and it

was not long before the strong hand of Henry of Normandy, first as duke, then as King, brought order out of the chaos of the Anarchy.

We have but one further aspect of our subject to consider. In Stephen's second charter, issued in 1136, occur certain phrases of importance to the relations between Church and State. The provisions of this charter are based on that of Henry I, and it is interesting to note the repetition of the promise that the Church be free—a second forerunner of the famous phrase in the Charter of 1215.²¹ Simony is prohibited, and the rights of bishops over ecclesiastical goods confirmed. Church possessions as on the day of King William's death are guaranteed; others are reserved to the King. Later gifts to the Church are confirmed. The right of ecclesiastics to dispose of their goods by will is confirmed.

And then comes the most important sentence: "Dum vero sedes propriis pastoribus vacuæ fuerint, ipsas at earum possessiones omnes in manu et custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum ejusdem ecclesiæ committam, donec pastor canonice substituat." The importance of this sentence lies in the word "canonice," for this is the first English ratification of canon law. For the rest this charter is of minor importance, for Stephen was never strong enough to enforce its provisions.

To summarize, then. The importance of Stephen's reign in English Church history is that it illustrates a tendency to subordinate the English Church to the general Church and shows some of the dangers of that tendency. And it further reveals the Church as an essential factor in the makeup of the English Kingdom, for without its unifying power there would have been no sort of bond to hold England together during the Anarchy; the bundle of faggots might not only have been loosened, it might have fallen apart permanently.

²¹ " . . . sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse . . . confirmo." Cart. Steph. de lib. Eccl. Ang. *Select Ch.*, p. 143, where the document is printed in full.

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CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION*

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The study of the character and origin of primitive religion is a peculiarly modern study. To the orthodox Christian of one hundred years ago, there was no particular problem. It was taken for granted that the earliest religion was a perfect revelation vouchsafed to Adam in the Garden of Eden. The various non-Christian religions were supposed to be corruptions of this one primal revelation to man, a revelation which had been lost through sin. The study of religion dealt with a process of degeneration, rather than with one of evolution.

But with the increased interest in the facts of nature which arose in the nineteenth century, there appeared a new interest in the religious development of man. The naïve theory of the lost revelation became unsatisfactory as an answer, and students addressed themselves to the task of re-surveying the field of religion with a view to stating in new form the laws of religious development. As a result of their work, numerous new answers have been given to the question of the nature, origin and development of religion. It is the task of this paper to present some of the contemporary theories of primitive religion.

One of the most important and remarkable facts meets us at the very outset of our study, that is, that there actually is such a

*In the preparation of this paper, the following works have been consulted: Max Müller, *Natural Religion*; Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, and *Myth, Ritual and Religion*; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*; F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religions*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, and *The Worship of Nature*; E. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*; Jane E. Harrison, *Themis*; F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*; also numerous articles in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

thing as primitive religion, or rather that it is adjudged by scholars quite permissible to use this phrase. The similarities that have been observed in the religious beliefs and behavior of primitive peoples the world over are very remarkable. If one browses through any good book on the subject such as Frazer's *Golden Bough*, one is amazed at the geographical scope that the book covers. Illustrations to make clear a particular point will be drawn from the North American Indians, the native Australians, the people of the West Coast of Africa and the pre-Hebraic Canaanites. Similar practices are found in all parts of the world, among peoples separated by vast distances and over centuries. No theory of transmission or borrowing could possibly apply. Of course, there are great differences, but the similarities are altogether too numerous and too remarkable to be overlooked. We may state a number of these common features of primitive religion.

There is practically a universal recognition of the category of what we may call "the holy." Of course, this is not to be understood as containing all that the Christian includes under that concept, but it stands for the existence of unified systems of belief and practice relative to things set apart and forbidden. The Melanesian words *mana* and *taboo*, and the North American Indian words *wakan* and *orenda* have become technical words among anthropologists; these words can readily be used in describing the religious and social conditions among almost any group of primitive people. They stand for a common element in primitive religion.

Primitive religion always recognizes some social organization as related in some way to its sacred things. Not all people are related to the sacred objects as the particular tribe is; the social organizations of the tribe are sanctioned in some way by the religious objects. Rites and ceremonies express this sense of the tribe's religious oneness. The communal meal, which Robertson Smith has claimed to be the origin of all sacrifices, is such a ceremony. Likewise the ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death, and the ceremonies of initiation which occur in

all parts of the world. The mere fact that these exist everywhere is remarkable; the many similarities in behavior in these ceremonies among the most diverse peoples are more remarkable.

The phenomenon of totemism is found in some stratum of culture in every part of the world. This recognition of a kinship between a tribe or clan or phratry and some species of natural life, plant or animal, (and, in rarer cases, inanimate objects) seems so strange and unnatural to us, yet it has found a place in the religious development of every people. It is a true mark of primitive religion.

The prevalence of magic is noteworthy. It appears everywhere with its two phases based on the Law of Similarity, the belief that like produces like, and the Law of Contagion, the belief that magic power is transmissible. It everywhere recognizes the peculiarly potent influence of the name of a person, also of parts of his body, his hair, or nail-pairings or spittle.

Among primitive peoples there is the recognition of the existence of a soul inhabiting the body of man, and generally of other beings as well; the existence of spirits, or disembodied souls; of the continued existence of a person after death, especially in the case of exceptional persons, and, in the higher forms of primitive religion, definite gods appear.

Lastly, primitive religion generally recognizes specially sacred groups of people, kings, priests or medicine-men.

I repeat, that one of the most remarkable things about primitive religion is that there is such a thing at all, that there is such a definite phenomenon, recognizable in all parts of the world and in all times, with so many characteristic and distinguishing marks. I have given but the fewest of these here; the reader who will consult the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, or *The Golden Bough*, or in fact, any good manual on the subject will be amazed at the similarities. Marett says (EBr XVIII 63), "Primitive religions are like so many similar beads on a string; and our concern is mainly with the nature of the string, *i.e.*, the common conditions of soul and society that make, say, totemism or taboo very

much the same thing the world over, when we seek to penetrate into its essence."

These attempts to penetrate into its essence bring before us a number of theories as to the origin and meaning of primitive religion. They fall into three general groups, which I may designate respectively as the mythological, the anthropological, and the sociological.

(1) It was to be expected that the first attempts to propound a theory of the origin and nature of primitive religion should have an affinity with the traditional Christian view which preceded them. This school, represented by Max Müller and Andrew Lang, was influenced largely by philological considerations and by the idealism of the middle of the nineteenth century. Müller traced philological similarities through many languages, and on this ground claimed that all religion began in nature-worship, particularly the adoration of the infinite expanse of heaven. Religion begins, according to Müller, with man's actual sensuous experience of the mysterious and wonderful world of nature about him. In it he has intimations of the infinite, and his soul is turned to wonder and worship.¹ Implicit in these intimations is the idea of one God, the God of Nature, whose power is seen in the storm, in the starry sky and in the blue vault above us. Man did not rise from polytheism to monotheism; rather he fell from the higher to the lower. The gods came into existence in man's thought from two sources, psychological and mythological. Man worked out the idea of the soul in order to account for the fact of death. Comfort was found in the belief that the real personality survived. Later, these surviving souls, divorced from the body, became gods. The stories of the gods which are found in all mythologies helped these divinised souls to maintain their existence. These tales of the gods come from a disease of language, the mistaking of poetic titles ascribed to the one God of Nature for actual names of other divinities. Polytheism, says

¹ Müller, *Natural Religion*, 1899, P. 188.

Müller, is a disease of language. Epithets originally used to describe natural objects such as the dawn or the wind, came to be regarded as proper names.

The view of Andrew Lang is not so very different from that of Max Müller. He does not ascribe such a poetic imagination to primitive man as does Müller, but he holds to some kind of primitive revelation or intuition of the divine.² He sees in all lower forms of religion a misunderstanding and degradation of this primitive revelation. For example, he claims that totemism arose through a literal interpretation of metaphorical, symbolical or similar names or nick-names.

This school has few supporters to-day. The increased knowledge of primitive man, gained from actual study of life among 'primitives' to-day, and by careful research into their modes of thought and action, does not support the views held by Müller and Lang.

(2) With the development of scientific methods of research in the nineteenth century, and with the inspiration of the doctrine of evolution, it was to be expected that a change would come in the approach to the problem of religion. This two-fold change was seen in the work of the anthropological school, represented by Tylor, Spencer, Frazer, Jevons, and a host of others. The first change consisted in an effort to gather all the facts of primitive life, and a tremendous mass of information has been collated. The second change, consequent on the spread of the idea of organic evolution, was to read these facts as a progress from lower to higher, from simple to complex. It is possible that this latter tendency has been carried too far. The early workers in this field did not realize that their own minds were dominated by the dogmatic assumption that progress was always from simple to complex, and thus they often failed to recognize the many complexities found in primitive life. It is possible, also, that the collecting of facts was also affected by this presupposition. How-

² Lang, *Magic and Religion*, 1901, p. 224.

ever, these students have laid us under a heavy debt of gratitude for their exhaustive labors.

The first outstanding name in this school is that of E.B. Tylor, whose great work on *Primitive Culture* was published in 1871. Tylor emphasizes the fact that to primitive man the world is alive with spirits. Man believes himself to have a soul, and he ascribes similar souls to other men, to animals, and to all kinds of what we would call inanimate beings. Tylor defines religion as belief in spiritual beings.³ This theory of the nature of religion is generally called animism. Goblet d'Alviella,⁴ a supporter of this view, defines animism as "a belief in the existence of spiritual beings, some attached to bodies of which they constitute the real personality (souls), others without a definite connection with a determinate body (spirits)". Animism appears in three forms, Necrolatry, the dealings with the souls or spirits of the dead, spiritism, the dealings with spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with certain bodies or objects, and Naturism, dealings with spiritual beings who direct the permanent and periodically recurring phenomena of nature. Animism represents an attempt to explain in a rational way all the facts of the universe. It is claimed to be the religion and philosophy of all non-civilized peoples.

According to this view, man comes to his belief in the existence of spirits through his dreams. In his dreams primitive man has strange experiences. He travels afar while his body remains stationary. He arises, more or less tired from the emotional strain of the dream. Yet his comrades assure him that his body lay quietly on the ground all night. He solves the problem for himself on the supposition that he has a second personality, a double, which partakes of his own existence, and yet has an existence of its own. This double, or soul, is active in dreams and trances.

From this position, it is easy to pass on to the conception of the soul winning release from the body at death. The soul then

³ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 124.

⁴ *Encyc. Rel. and Eth.* I, 535.

becomes spirit. But it is none the less real. And in the case of the death of a chief or of a loved one, it is easy to represent the spirit of the departed as still functioning in relation to those who have been left behind. Thus the way is opened for the cult of ancestors. The next step is to ascribe souls to things. Tylor claims that this comes about because primitive man has difficulty in distinguishing the animate from the inanimate. It is easy to ascribe souls to animals, and totemism is claimed to be a special form of ancestor-worship due to the belief in re-incarnation.

Herbert Spencer differs from Tylor in the one particular of the ascription of souls to things. Spencer points out that animals have little difficulty in distinguishing the animate from the inanimate, and thinks that primitive man is at least as intelligent as they. Spencer suggests that a confusion of language, due to the use of the names of animals and things as proper names for persons, led to the ascription of souls to the non-human world. In this Spencer reminds us of Müller's theory. Spencer also insists that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion. Grant Allen in his *Evolution of the Idea of God* says, "The fundamental element in religion is the belief in the Life of the Dead".

Jevons, in his *Introduction to the History of Religion*, refuses to acknowledge that this cult of the dead is the source of all religion. He claims that from the beginning man believed in a supernatural spirit or spirits having affinity with his own spirit and having power over him. This belief is called forth, not created, by man's experiences of the frustrations of his expectations. Man thus discovers that there is another power in the world, and he seeks to enter into satisfactory relations with that power. From this desire of the man comes worship, principally in its form of sacrifice. Sacrifice is a common meal or is a thanksgiving over restored relations between this Power and man. Ancestor worship comes about by confusion of this thanksgiving meal with a totally different ceremony, the family feast to present offerings to the deceased ancestor. This latter is not worship but since the same sort of rites are used as in the approach

to the supernatural spirit, the two become confused and thus ancestor-worship arises.

The members of this anthropological group have difficulty in dealing with the relations of magic and religion. From the animistic stand-point the two appear very similar. J. G. Frazer deals with the problem most thoroughly; his views will be discussed later. A word may be said about the views of Tylor, Jevons and Marett. According to Tylor, magic is a confused mass of beliefs and practices involving two elements. The first of these is a spiritual element, made up of such rites as involve the intervention of spiritual beings, ghosts of the dead, demons and gods. This, in Tylor's view, is an inferior branch of religion. But magic also includes a non-spiritual element. This depends on imagined powers and correspondences in nature, and is but imperfect reasoning from cause to effect. It is a faulty science.

Marett⁵ regards magic and religion as two forms of a social phenomenon originally one and indivisible; primitive man had an institution which dealt with the supernatural, and in this institution were the germs of both magic and religion which were gradually differentiated. Priest and magician were originally both one; but the former, learning humility in the face of might greater than his own, discarded the spell for prayer and prostrated himself before a higher power.

Jevons regards magic and religion as quite separate. Magic is but savage science, and exists for the individual; religion springs from a combination of animism and supernaturalism and exists for the welfare of society.

Probably the most eminent and well-known of this school is Sir J. G. Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough*. He distinguishes three problems in the History of Religion, the problem of Magic, that of Totemism, and that of the cults of fertility and vegetation. Frazer's definition of religion definitely excludes magic.⁶ "By Religion I mean a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior

⁵ *Encyc. Brit.*, XVII, 305.

⁶ *Golden Bough* (2d Ed.), I, 63.

to man which are believed to direct and control the course and nature of human life." He amplifies this to explain that by powers he means conscious or personal agents. Religion is thus opposed to magic which is based on the implicit assumption that the course of nature is determined not by the passions and caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically. Religion is opposed to magic, for religion assumes an indeterminate character to the world. Magic is a faulty science.

But this opposition between religion and magic makes its appearance late in the history of religion. In early times both were confused, and in still earlier times, only magic existed. The origin of religion was occasioned by man's discouragement with magic. He came ultimately, as a result of experience, to recognize its inherent falsity and barrenness. Man recognized his own powerlessness, yet he saw power in the world about him. So religion began as a slight and partial acknowledgment of powers superior to man, and it tended, with the growth of knowledge, to deepen into a confession of man's absolute and entire dependence on the divine.

Frazer's explanation of Totemism is that it is local or conceptual. He pictures a time before there was general understanding of paternity. Every conception and birth was then supernatural. The first stirrings of pre-natal life would be the first announcement that a new life had begun, and it would be supposed by the woman that a soul had entered into her being at that moment. The locality where this stirring would occur would suggest to the woman that some plant or animal there had affected her, and this plant or animal would be the badge or totem of the child.

(3) During the past generation a totally new school of students of the History of Religion has arisen, which is called the sociological school because of the emphasis placed by them on the social aspect of religious behavior. The leader of this group is

Prof. Emile Durkheim of the University of Paris; other writers of note have been Lévy-Bruhl, Hubert and Mauss, of France, Jane Harrison and Francis Cornford of England, and E. S. Ames of the University of Chicago.

This school lays four main criticisms against the anthropological school. First, the views presented by this group are faulty psychologically. The explanations of religion given by the supporters of animism are too severely intellectual. They presuppose a philosophic interest on the part of primitive man which is supported by no evidence. The "savage philosopher" of whom they speak does not exist. The problems of primitive man are biological and social, how to live, and how to keep the tribe alive. Furthermore, these views presuppose a development of individual independence of thought and action for which we have no evidence. In primitive life the sense of individuality and personality is at a minimum, while the social consciousness is very strong. And the problems presented by the anthropological school are all relating to the individuality of the primitive man.

Second, the criticism is made that this presentation of primitive religion is false sociologically. Every religion has a social organization which it protects with its sanctions, and this aspect of religion is more evident and more powerful in primitive life than elsewhere. Primitive man's speculations as to his soul are not related to the tribal life, always of first importance to him. Totemism is not merely the recognition of kinship with an animal or plant species, it is also a complete and very complex social organization which dominates the whole life of the man who lives within its bounds. The anthropological school offer no explanation of it. Frazer recognizes that it is not related to the problems of the "soul," and therefore refuses to call it religious. Again, religion finds its most important contact in the great social crises of the life of man, the times of birth, initiation, marriage and death. The ceremonies incident to these moments are not for the individual alone, they affirm and strengthen the reality of the social group. Such affirmation cannot be a mere by-product of an individual's life.

Third, the animistic hypothesis fails to explain why certain things are looked upon as sacred. This sense of the sacred is exceedingly potent in primitive life. Otto has shown in *The Idea of the Holy* how important it is in life. Among primitive men, certain things are taboo, while other things are not. What is the principle of the selection, and what is the root of the very idea of the sacred, the taboo, or mana?

Fourth, religious rites are celebrated periodically, not only under certain circumstances, and they are celebrated publicly. Why is this?

The effect of these criticisms has been to lead scholars to recognize more fully than before the importance of the social element in religion. S. A. Cook (ERE, x, 665), "All theories and ideals of religion implicate societies or systems, and not particular individuals or details. All significant movements have been collective, and development has been due, not merely to individuals (who often find no following), but to the tribe, society, church, organization or people who were influenced by them. Consequently every conception of the lowest stage of religion must refer, not to the first religious individual, but to the group which could be styled religious, not to separate ideas, beliefs or concepts, but to the whole mental fabric or system in which these find a place."

But the sociological school go much further than to insist on the importance of the social element in religion. To them it is the one and only explanation of every part of religion, whose significance is misunderstood otherwise. The doctrines of this school affect every study of religious life. Up to the present the implications have not been fully worked out. The French scholars have devoted themselves to the study of primitive religion, while the English writers have dealt with the religions of Greece.

Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl begin by drawing attention to the work of society in forming the mentality of the individual. They point to the important part played in education by collective representations as distinguished from individual representations. Collective representations are social constructs in the world of thought

and experience. Language is an example of a social construct. It is created by no individual, nor is it fully possessed by any individual. It is common to the members of a given social group. It is transmitted from one generation to another, and it impresses itself on the individual members of the group. These collective representations exist in every society, to a large degree unconsciously. Modern science is a social construct. So is language, so is our religion.

Primitive man is peculiarly susceptible to the influence of collective representations. He is not critical, indeed he is so little of an individual that he has no canons of criticism to apply to his group; it is an accepted doctrine to-day that he is a member of society before he is an individual. He cannot stand off from society and distinguish himself from it. Nor can he stand off from Nature and study it objectively; the distinction of subject from object is not yet clearly made. He does not clearly distinguish human from non-human. His mental life is what William James called a "buzzing, booming confusion". He is not able to analyse his experience into its factors of intellect, emotion and volition; all is confusion within him, a vague, undifferentiated striving. He is born into an environment which he does not distinguish from himself, but which is really a part of himself. He lives into this social milieu uncritically. He is unable to do anything more than submit himself to the play and influence of the life around him.

The customs and mores of the tribe are passed on to him and are unquestioningly accepted. Language, law and custom become a part of himself. These are not an infringement of society on his personality, they are a gift of personality to him.

Some of these collective representations are acquired by him in circumstances of peculiar impressiveness, and form a class which is designated "sacred". It matters not what name is applied to this class, they have a common character in that they form a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, to things set apart and forbidden. These sacred things

may be beliefs, rites or objects. From his initiation on, these sacred objects are always suffused with a mystic aura, they never appear to primitive man as they would to a twentieth-century scientist. Primitive man has no canons of criticism by which to analyze these impressive experiences, nor has he any thought of trying to analyze them. They *are*, and they are as he has experienced them, appealing to his intellect to understand and recognize them, but also moving his emotions deeply because of their environment, and associated with certain important muscular reactions. Thus there grows up the sense of the "holy" or better, since Otto has coined the word, the "numinous."

There is a profound social significance to primitive man's experience of the numinous. Most of his time must be spent in isolation from the rest of his tribe, due to the necessity of finding food. We hardly realize how small a population of primitives are able to find a living in a district. His life is very monotonous and lonely. But there are, at periodic intervals, clan and tribal gatherings, and in these gatherings there is inevitably a great development of emotion. Out of his loneliness he comes and finds friends, he feels the play of new emotions which never affected him when alone in the bush, he feels new joys, new friendships, new loyalties in which his experience is rapidly expanded. He becomes a new being. In this social environment he becomes a new being, other than he was, and yet the same as he was.

Now it is significant that religious rites among primitive men are always celebrated at these great communal gatherings. It was the recognition of this fact that started Robertson Smith on his researches into primitive life among the Semites. He was anxious to find an answer to the question why religious rites were always celebrated in public. The celebration of these rites coincides with the ebullition of this socially-induced emotion. In Australia, religious activity is almost entirely confined to these moments of the great corroborrees. Thus, religion, the consciousness of another world, is born in the midst of these effervescent social excitements.

This does not mean that there is no religious consciousness at other times. The individual was only able to enter into these social experiences by virtue of the fact that he was a member of the tribe or clan, and he carries with him always some emblem of that membership. This is the meaning of totemism according to the sociological school; each totem is the emblem of a clan brotherhood. And by the law of association we may expect the presence of this particular emblem or totem to generate once more in the individual an echo of his social experience. It is too much to expect primitive man to analyze the situation properly and see that the totem is only a bush that reminds him of past satisfying experiences, just as it is too much to expect that a One Hundred Per Cent. American will be able to distinguish the flag from the character of the history of America. But this experience of religion in solitude is but an echo in imagination of the social experience.

This distinction of individual experience from social experience underlies the distinction between sacred and profane. The divine is the social, the profane is the individual. This does not mean that the sacred is the plural of the profane. Society itself is both sacred and profane, profane in so far as we recognize its members as individuals, sacred when viewed collectively. In civilized life it is not easy to make this distinction, for social experience is so continuous that the distinction is blurred; but in primitive life the distinction is very clear. Religion according to this theory, is nothing other than the collective and anonymous force of the clan. It appears to be, and is, other than the individual, and yet it is the very life of the individual.

All the essential characteristics of the divine are found in the functioning of society. Society is an authority on whom we all depend. In important matters the authority of society is absolute. Society is the source of all our strength; it is in touch with society that we renew our strength. Society acts on us ordinarily, not by constraint, but by moral authority.

This theory of the origin and nature of primitive, and indeed

of all religion, is not open to the same criticisms which may be levelled at the anthropological school. It is sound psychologically, according to our present understanding of individual and social psychology. It recognizes the instinctive, emotional and volitional factors in life. It does justice to the sociological factors, in that it explains the importance of the social organization which always is a part of religion. It gives an acceptable explanation of the sense of the sacred. Also, it explains the periodic character of religious rites. They are not means to an individual end, they are the ways whereby the social group affirms its existence and strengthens its consciousness of itself.

If this theory is able to meet the criticisms that will be directed against it, if it proves to be the accepted explanation of the origin and nature of primitive religion, it will have important effects on our understanding and presentation of the Christian religion, but it is not the business of this paper to deal with that subject.

THE STUDY OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

Outline of a Reading Course for Clergy

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Dogmatic Theology is concerned with divine truths *as they are in themselves*, which include their mutual relations as parts of one coherent whole. Although this science is affected by the progress of human knowledge, thought, and criticism at large, immediate concern with these things pertains to Apologetical rather than to Dogmatic Theology. Moreover, while in its wider and scientific aspects Dogmatic Theology must be progressive or else decay, the revealed truths pertaining to eternal life, with which it is most vitally concerned and which determine its outlook, are not subject to change *in their substance* by any advances of knowledge. It is the mental context in which we apprehend them that changes; and it is this change of context that requires what is called the development of doctrine.

The bibliography here given is limited in two directions: (a) It is for those who aim to gain a mastery of divine truth *in itself*, in particular of the historic Christian or Catholic faith, that will enable them to teach it in due proportion, sympathetically, vitally, and persuasively. In other words it pertains to Dogmatic—neither to Apologetic nor to Polemic, which need special bibliographies. (b) It is not for advanced scholars, who make their own bibliographies, but for the general run of parish clergy and intelligent laity. They will find, however, considerable additional bibliographies in the works here mentioned.

These limitations will explain the conspicuous omissions which theological experts will discover.

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Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; and *Dictionary of the Bible*; Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*; Percival's *Seven Ecumenical Councils*; Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines* (rich in references); and Denzinger's *Enchiridion*. He ought also to become acquainted to some degree (in Latin preferably, but at least in its English translation) with the greatest of all classics in Dogmatic Theology, the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas (many Latin editions) *Literally Translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province*: 19 vols., N. Y., etc., 1911, ff.

Inasmuch as my own ten volume *Dogmatic Theology* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1907-1922) is the only extended Anglican treatise covering the whole field systematically (with many references and book titles), and since its several volumes (obtainable separately) correspond to the main branches of the subject, I venture to use their several titles as determining the successive divisions of this Bibliography.

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NOTES, COMMENTS, AND PROBLEMS

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The H. W. Wilson Company has at last completed the gigantic task involved in the preparation of its Union Serial List, and the final volume with over 75,000 entries has been distributed to the subscribers; non-subscribers may purchase it for \$75.00. Over two hundred libraries are listed, and now students desirous, *e.g.*, to consult some odd volume published by the Academy of Grenoble can learn exactly where it is to be found in the United States. Of course the census is not complete; many of the non-listed libraries contain surprising odds and ends, and even the listed libraries may have overlooked items. It is to be hoped, consequently, that librarians will keep a watch for omissions and that a supplementary volume may be published at some future time.

And now it is announced that the American Council of Learned Societies is at work on an inventory of foreign manuscripts held in America, while the Library of Congress has already started printing cards for photographic reproductions of books and manuscripts in American libraries generally. When these two undertakings are finished, students will find research work enormously facilitated.

By the appearance of the present number of the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* Charles Scribner's Sons will probably have published the first volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, to be complete in twenty volumes, plus the inevitable supplements. It will follow in all essentials the lines of the *Dictionary of National Biography* (by the way, the latest supplement of this classic work has just been issued), and is in charge of a special committee of the American Council of Learned Societies. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, who has resigned from the directorship of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institute to accept the new chair of history in the Library of Congress,

is chairman of the committee of management. Everyone who knows the unsatisfactory character of the present dictionaries of American biography—and who does not?—will hail the new undertaking with rejoicing.

The merger of the publishing firms of George H. Doran & Company and Doubleday, Page & Company is of special interest owing to the large theological output of the former. We are assured, however, that the new firm (Doubleday, Doran & Co.) will maintain full interest in this side of its activities.

Beginning with January, 1928, *The Journal of Religion* will appear as a quarterly, without affecting the number of pages in the annual volume.

The Beihefte zum Alten Orient will appear hereafter under the new title *Morgenland: Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens*.

Professor Hempel, of Greifswald, has been chosen editor of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* in succession to the lamented Professor Gressmann.

Professor von Zahn, having completed his *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, proceeds to new fields in his ninetieth year by publishing a *Grundriss der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Leip-sic, Deichert, 1928).

The Stuttgart Bibel-Anstalt announce a new (the 13th edition) of Nestlé's *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, which will receive fuller notice hereafter. The new features, however, deserve immediate summary. The Greek orthography has been revised to correspond to the rules for the first century, disregarding the manuscripts; this was a bold but very wise decision. The apparatus has been greatly enlarged to give the authority of the important manuscripts as well as the opinions of modern scholars, and the testimony of the papyri has been freely added. The marginal readings have been rearranged and considerably enlarged. And the American price for the bound volume has been kept to 90 cents!

The Holy Office in a decree of June 2, 1927, returns to the vexed (in the Roman Catholic Church) problem of I St. John

5:7; rumor has it that when Leo XIII formed the Biblical Commission their first decision was against the genuineness of the "Comma," but this report was immediately suppressed. The new decree is a model of careful ambiguity. While maintaining that the audacity of private teachers is to be rebuked, who on their own authority even call into doubt the authenticity of the passage, yet the Holy Office does in no way wish to hinder those who, having weighed the arguments on both sides with becoming moderation, may incline into an opinion contrary to the genuineness, provided they hold themselves ready to submit to any possible judgment of the Church. Without claiming to be expert in the interpretation of such language, the general sense would appear to be that Roman Catholic scholars are now free to teach the obvious truth in regard to the "Comma."

Recent discoveries in Palestinian archæology are swelling to such a flood that even a summary account is beginning to present serious difficulties. The fullest available descriptions are from the University of Pennsylvania expedition, which is working at Beisan (Bethshan) under Dr. Alan Rowe. A temple of Dagon is the chief object of interest, which is yielding all sorts of unexpected treasures, including a portrait of the builder on a door jamb. Astarte relics are in abundance, and a pottery vessel has disclosed a new type of alphabet, apparently a mixture of Cretan and Cypriote writing. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, now working at Tel Jerissa (near Joppa) is laying bare relics of a very early period, the latest seeming to belong to around B.C. 2000, and the earliest being classed as from the middle bronze age. The town wall shows a type of construction surprisingly like that of Jericho.

Future Palestinian research will be vastly stimulated by a gift of \$2,000,000 by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the building of a museum in Jerusalem. The Government of Palestine has formally accepted the offer.

Among personal notes, it is announced that Professors Paul Feine, Rudolph Seeberg, Hermann Gunkel, Gustav Krüger and Otto Ritschl have been made emeritus. This removes from the

list of active teachers some of the most distinguished names in Germany.

The Oxford election to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity in Oxford in succession to Dr. Walter Lock, retired, resulted in the choice of Dr. Norman Powell Williams, Bampton lecturer in 1924 and an accomplished theologian.

We regret that in the necrology we must record the passing of certain famous scholars.

Friedrich Loofs, professor of theology at Halle, ranked only next to Harnack as a historian of doctrine and in some regards his judgment was probably better. A bibliography of his works would overflow several pages of this review but his *Leitfaden* was known and used everywhere. He was seventy years old.

Hans Heinrich Wendt, professor at Jena, who was born in 1853, divided his work between the New Testament and systematic theology. In the former field he was best known as the editor of five editions of Acts in the "Meyer" series, beginning in 1880 and ending in 1913, various work on the teaching of Jesus and (toward the end of his life) on the literary criticism of the Fourth Gospel. In the systematic field he wrote a regular textbook on dogmatics (1907), beside minor works, some of which were translated into English. His sympathies were with Ritschlianism.

Paul Althaus, professor of systematic and practical theology in Leipsic, who was born in 1861, devoted most of his attention to Protestant liturgics but made important contributions to apologetics.

Another loss at Leipsic is Professor Heinrich Boehmer, of the department of Church History. He was not quite sixty years old.

Andrew Ewbank Burn, Dean of Salisbury, was born in 1864 and acquired a special reputation in his work on the creeds and in his study of Niceta of Remesiana.

Charles Plummer, Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, specialized in Irish ecclesiastical history and published important sources in Gaelic, but was prominent in English historical

research as well; a very important life of King Alfred and an edition of the Saxon chronicles being among his more important works. Born in 1851 he was ten years the junior of his brother Alfred Plummer, church historian and New Testament expositor.

Alice Gardner, who was seventy-three years old, was among the first English women to attain academic distinction. She entered Cambridge (Newnham College) as long ago as 1876 and took a first class in the Historical Tripos. After a few years spent in school teaching she was called to the chair of history in Bedford College, London, in 1883, and to a lectureship in Cambridge the following year. Her writings, many of them for children, covered a wide range, but her serious efforts were concentrated in the field of Patristics, with a volume in the Crown Theological Library, *History of Sacrament*.

David George Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum since 1909, was born in 1862, worked especially in the archæology of Arabia and Asia Minor, but was most generally known by his *Authority and Archaeology* (1899).

By an accident, the death of General Sir Charles Warren was not chronicled when it occurred in January, 1927. Sir Charles, who died at the advanced age of eighty-seven, was one of the pioneers in Palestinian topography and archæology, and headed the Palestine Expedition work in 1867-1870. His writings were voluminous in the extreme, since he contributed to innumerable Bible dictionaries, etc., in addition to his more formal works.

Robert Keable, who died last December, acquired a somewhat sensational reputation. Born in 1887 and pursuing a normal English education, he took orders in 1911 and immediately stepped into prominence as a devotional writer. When the War broke out he applied for a chaplaincy, but the experience proved too much for his faith and he renounced his orders in 1920, to devote himself to fiction. As a novelist he seemed determined to urge the rather inconsistent combination of an admiration of Roman Catholicism with a plea for wide sexual toleration.

Ettalene M. Grice received her Ph.D. at Yale in 1917 for research work under the late Professor Albert Clay, and became

closely associated with him in his work, after his death being appointed to succeed him with the title of Assistant Professor of Assyriology.

Immanuel Moses Casanowicz, assistant curator at the United States National Museum, was born in Russia in 1853, worked part of his life in Church History, and devoted the latter years chiefly to Italian archæology and linguistics.

William Morgan, professor at Queen's Theological College, Kingston, Canada, was born in Scotland in 1862. His best known book was *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, a rather too close reproduction of the essentials of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*.

REVIEWS

A History of the Pharaohs. By Arthur Weigall. New York: Dutton, 1927, pp. 424. \$5.00.

This is Volume II of Weigall's interesting and original history of the Pharaohs, covering that period of Egyptian history from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasties inclusive. This book challenges the attention of every student of ancient Egyptian history, for it not only brings together in a connected way and in an interesting manner what was formerly known about ancient Egyptian history, but it also makes use of new material and reinterprets some old material.

Many new solutions of old problems in Egyptian history have been offered by Mr. Weigall. For instance, he gives a full discussion of his original chronology of the period covered by the book, and exhibits in a remarkable table on page 32 how the known material fits into the Turin Papyrus' total for the length of the Twelfth Dynasty, and in another table on page 239 his new arrangement of the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties. Moreover, he seems to have fixed the date of Khyan, the last Hyksos pharaoh, who ruled all Egypt. He has made many contributions to an understanding of the difficulties of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For example, he attributes thirteen years to the reign of Thutmose I, and dates the obelisks of Hatshepsut to the 16th year of Thutmose II instead of to the 16th year of Thutmose III, thus making clear the sequence of events in that Queen's life.

The author has made a brave attempt at fixing the dates of the Hebrew patriarchs and of the Exodus, which cannot as yet be considered final.

Of the eight interesting chapters into which the book is divided, chapters two to eight take up systematically the reigns of the pharaohs of dynasties twelve to eighteen. But chapter one contains a most useful study of Egyptian chronology, which, with the

study of the same problem in the first volume, is in itself a great contribution to this difficult problem. In the preface, the author contributes a list of corrections to the first volume, which every student should observe. There are sixteen excellent plates of illustrations, with a partial list of the pharaohs of the period covered by this volume.

Although one may not always be able to follow the author's reasoning, for example, on pages 236 and 255, where he arrives at important conclusions on slim bases, yet it must be admitted that Weigall has done a brilliant piece of work, and we await with keenness his next volume in this series. So far, it is the very best work on the subject.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde. In verbindung mit Geheimrat Fr. Hommel und Prof. Nik. Rhodokanakis herausgegeben von Ditlef Nielsen. I Band. *Die altarabische Kultur.* Kopenhagen: A. Busck (Leipzig: Harrassowitz), 1927, pp. viii + 272.

In this first volume, Dr. Ditlef Nielsen, with the help of his distinguished collaborators, has produced a handsome and interesting book, well illustrated with copies of early Arabian inscriptions. The publication, we are informed, is made possible by the generosity of the Rask ørsted and Carlsberg funds.

Chapter I, by Dr. Nielsen, is a summary of archæological history in S. Arabia, Abyssinia and N. Arabia since the days of Niebuhr. The work of Halévy and Glaser is especially selected for commendation. Dr. Fr. Hommel, in Chapter II, follows with a comprehensive sketch of the intricate history of the S. Arabian kingdoms, so far as this can be unravelled with the help of the inscriptions. In Chapter III Professor Rhodokanakis takes up the story with an account of the public life of the S. Arabian states, their business, laws, and agricultural science. The fourth chapter, by Dr. Adolph Grohmann, deals with the architecture and general art of the same localities. In the final chapter Dr. Nielsen is concerned with the religion of ancient Arabia, its gods and goddesses, its cult of sun, moon, stars, and the like. This is the

most interesting part of the volume, especially as it makes comparison between the religion of pre-Islamic Arabia and that of Israel. The conclusion is that Islam is much less indebted to Judaism than was once maintained by Geiger, and much less indebted to Christianity than was maintained by Wellhausen. Ilah, or Allah, is really "der uralte arabische Hauptgott" and paganism was really that "*shirk*" (or giving God partners) which is commonly supposed to be condemned only in Christianity. In short, the discovery of "eine Serie von monotheistisch klingenden Ausdrücken in altarabischen Inschriften" is one of the chief results of recent archæological work in S. Arabia. The inscriptions here described may well be regarded as "eine reiche Fundgrube für des Verstandnis der Vorgeschichte des Islams."

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. By William Robertson Smith. Third edition, with an introduction and additional notes by Stanley A. Cook. London: A. and C. Black (New York: Macmillan), 1927, pp. lxiv + 718. 12s. 6d. (\$3.75).

It is now almost forty years since the first edition of Robertson Smith's remarkable lectures was published, and the book is still a necessity for every student of the History of Religion. A second edition, revised by the author, was published in 1894, and since then numerous reprints have been issued. The need for a new reprint this year suggested to the publishers the possibility of a new edition, and the task of preparing it was entrusted to Prof. Stanley A. Cook of Cambridge. It would be difficult to imagine a better choice. Prof. Cook's own scholarship is known throughout the world, and, in addition, he brought to this work an ardent devotion to the memory of Robertson Smith and a keen discrimination as to the value of his theories.

In the present edition the original text of Smith's lectures has been left unchanged. Some of the footnotes have been brought up to date. The great contribution which Prof. Cook has made is in the form of additional notes printed as an appendix, but nearly as lengthy as the Lectures themselves.

At this time it is worth while to survey the teachings on the origin of religion presented by Smith, and to enquire as to how far they have stood the test of criticism through the past forty years. For Smith was an innovator in his day, and *The Religion of the Semites* blazed a new trail for students of religion. He opened up in a new way questions of religion and magic; of ritual, theology and myth; of sin and atonement; and he discussed these in a wider relationship than had been known before. Prof. Cook ventures to speak of him as the founder of the Science and Theory of Religion.

Robertson Smith is best known for his theory of sacrifice as communion of the group with the god. Scholars to-day would hardly accept his presentation of the matter as completely satisfactory. It is felt that he unduly simplified the problem. But, as Cook says, it is easier to criticise Smith's theory than to find a better one that is not too intricate. At any rate, Smith showed that the theory of expiation was utterly wrong as an explanation of primitive sacrifice, and that the gift theory failed to explain the facts. In doing so he freed the Science of Religion from its bonds and set it forth on the open road it has been travelling since his day. Smith's position stands, in the main, even though it needs further development.

From Robertson Smith dates the recognition of the importance of totemism in the history of religion. He was one of the first to recognize that the totem-hypothesis does justice to the intimate relationship between religion and the fundamental structure of ancient society. His emphasis on the importance of totemism directed attention not only to this particular form of cult, but also to the essentially social character of religion. And how fruitful this field of study has been since Robertson Smith first dared to delve in it! The whole sociological school must look back to him as their inspiration. This is not to make Smith responsible for all the results of this school's work. Even if it be true that Smith's totem theory of the origin of sacrifice has been exaggerated by later students, still it is certain that no theory of the

origin of religion can be entertained that does not adequately recognize the importance of totemistic beliefs and practices.

Prof. Cook has found it a labor of love to bring out this edition, for he had the pleasant duty of showing in the foot-notes how remarkably many of Smith's brilliant speculations have been verified by later investigators. Particularly is this the case in the support that the Australian studies of Spencer and Gillen have given to Smith's theory of totemism. Prof. Cook has greatly increased the value of Smith's work to students of this generation by bringing up to date the references to the work of other scholars in the field of Semitic origins. He has gathered much evidence to substantiate Smith's statement that old types of totemistic and theriomorphic cults were prominent in the periods of national stress and crisis in Hebrew life in the fifth century B. C. Not less important is his contribution, from his own wealth of erudition, of references to the wider fields of anthropological research. Few men have as wide a knowledge as he of the studies of other men in the fascinating problem of religious origins throughout the world.

Prof. Cook gives in his notes a rather extended excursus on the meaning of Righteousness, in which he makes a valuable contribution to the problem of the respective shares in religious evolution of the social group and the great man. He contrasts two types of divinity, first, the totemistic clan-god who is immanent in the clan, and, second, the Supreme Being who is common to all the clans, who is transcendent. Cook suggests that since confederations of clans are always formed by men of outstanding personality, it is likely that the resultant gods should be anthropomorphic rather than theriomorphic. These tribe-gods are transcendent and are characterized by ethical ideas and ideals, in contrast to the clan-gods who are immanent in the clan and have no ethical character. Clan ceremonies are magico-religious and owe their origin to the group; the tribal system, with its attendant gods, owes its origin to the genius of some individual leader. It is an interesting hypothesis, and seems to give adequate room to

the theories of the French sociological school, while leaving a way of escape from some of their extreme positions.

In editing this third edition of *The Religion of the Semites* Prof. Cook has raised a worthy memorial to its great author, but he has no less laid the world of scholarship under a heavy burden of debt to himself for his loyal, painstaking and illuminating work.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

Mysterium und Agape: die gemeinsamen Mahlzeiten in der alten Kirche. By Karl Voelker. Gotha: L. Klotz, 1927, pp. xii + 223. M. 8.

A thorough study of the social, religious, and cult significance of common meals in the early Church has long been desired. The present work fills that want. The central thesis is that the *agape*, far from having been originally one with the Eucharist and presently separated from the latter to continue for a while an independent existence, in fact appears first toward the end of the second century as a part of the Church's counter-offensive against Gnosticism. From the beginning, the Eucharist was a simple partaking of bread and wine, and not at all a proper meal. And from the beginning a cult act, the very centre of Christian devotion, it quickly assumed on Hellenic soil a *mystery* aspect.

The Gnostics instituted common meals as a manifestation of fellowship and as a vehicle of charity; and boasted of their superiority therein. To disarm the Gnostics, the great Church appropriated this usage and continued it until changing conditions robbed it of its significance. While the patristic arguments supporting this thesis are marshalled with some force, it can hardly be said that they are put so convincingly as to overthrow the generally received view as to the relation between Eucharist and *agape*. Doubtless there was here as elsewhere development in practice as circumstances dictated, and certainly the chief evidence for the existence of the *agape* as an institution comes from the late second and the third century; but if with Ignatius *Eucharistia* and *Agapê* are interchangeable, it seems unwarranted to maintain that the *agape* was an altogether new thing adopted by the Church in the struggle with Gnosticism.

The nature of this study leads to an investigation of the religious meals of the Jews and of the attitude of the Jewish Christians toward table-fellowship with Gentile converts. The lengthy discussion of this latter point is perhaps the most valuable part of the book.

Voelker's discussion of the Last Supper yields little that is new. Despite acknowledged difficulties he still regards it as a true Paschal meal.

Following so soon after (and in a sense supplementing) Lietzmann's "Messe und Herrenmahl," the present work, in spite of much that seems unlikely to find general acceptance, will further materially our understanding of the Eucharist in apostolic and post-apostolic times, and of the part which table-fellowship played in the social, economic, spiritual, and cult life of the primitive Church.

P. V. NORWOOD.

Peter Prince of Apostles. By F. J. Foakes-Jackson. New York Doran, 1927, pp. 320. \$2.50.

Peter, Prince of Apostles is a curious mélange. It convinces one that Professor Foakes-Jackson must be a very interesting conversationalist. As a serious work of scholarship it betrays a looseness of treatment which detracts considerably from its value. Of course an author is entitled to draw up his own canons of relevancy but one is left with the feeling that the name "Peter" is an inadequate connecting link for the varied excursions on Christian origins, New Testament criticism and early Church history with which we are here presented. The first aim of the book, "to give the ordinary reader an interest in the first days of Christianity," it may perhaps accomplish. Certainly Prof. Foakes-Jackson can have left little unsaid that might be said about and around the subject of St. Peter. Beginning with a careful description of the fisheries of the Lake of Galilee, we track down the references to Peter in the New Testament, and when the historical Peter has passed into obscurity (the data, as the author truly says, are very scanty), we follow the legendary Peter down the centuries until

we wind up with an enumeration of the mediæval pictures in which the Apostle figures at all prominently. We are grateful for the Jewish legends of "Simeon Kaipha" now first translated into English for this book by Professor Gavin of the General Theological Seminary. And on the way Prof. Foakes-Jackson has much of interest to say on many things. But—and this despite the fact that the name of Peter occurs in almost every chapter heading—it is a terribly heterogeneous mass of stuff that is thrown together, and the doubt will keep rising whether it was all worth while. If it is true that Peter's story "is in fact the history of Christianity," it might be better to call it that.

The second aim of the book is said to be to induce scholars to study the problem "how far tradition is to be respected where direct historical material is scanty." Hence considerable discussion as to the beginnings of the Church in Rome and Peter's connexion therewith. A good conspectus of the various opinions is given. It would be hypercritical to complain that no solution of the "problem" is attempted when all that the author claims to do is to collect the material; and the latter claim must in fairness be admitted. Only, Prof. Foakes-Jackson is always dangerously prone to an abrupt *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*.

There are a great many trifling but annoying errors in the book. Most are obviously the printer's fault but for some the author's carelessness of expression seems to be responsible.

JOHN LOWE.

Echoes and Memories. By Bramwell Booth. New York: Doran, 1927, pp. vii + 223. \$2.00.

The "echoes" are reverberations of the Salvation Army's warfare against sin and degradation; the memories are of men, mostly in Great Britain, who in one way or another came in contact with the Army. Perhaps it is a Salvationist characteristic that these figures—statesmen and ecclesiastics, barristers, journalists, captains of industry—are called up chiefly that they may bear testimony to the Army's work. Apart from what they thought of

the Army and said about it, General Booth doesn't seem particularly interested in any of them.

Readers of this REVIEW are likely to be most arrested by the chapters which record negotiations between the Booths and leaders in the Church of England, and which reflect the changing attitude of the Army in the matter of the sacraments.

The negotiations took place in the eighties. The principal Anglicans concerned were Benson (then Bishop of Truro), Westcott, Lightfoot, Wilkinson, and the present Primate (then Dean of Windsor). It is to the credit of the national Church that she possessed leaders far-sighted enough to see the value of the Army's work and big enough to overlook much that must have been repugnant in method. The conferences never got very far: they were wrecked on the unwillingness of the elder Booth to relinquish full and "autocratic" control over his forces, even to gain undoubted advantages from inclusion under the wing of the Church of England. This "autocracy" is defended as essential to the effectiveness of the warfare.

On the whole the Churchmen seem to have been more friendly than the nonconformists. Several in high place are mentioned as having contributed to the Army's work or having commended it by word or pen, or as having participated in its holiness meetings. Yet Dean Church, despite his acknowledged "great spiritual insight," closed St. Paul's to a service at which Liddon was to preach, because the hobnailed boots of the Salvationists might scratch the new-laid marble pavement!

Time was when the Salvation Army made a practice of administering baptism and the Lord's Supper. But misgivings soon arose, first with Mrs. Booth, who came to feel that the low level of spiritual life in the churches was due in part to reliance upon outward ceremonial. She was convinced that "tens of thousands of merely nominal Christians would wake up and really seek after God if it were not for the benumbing influence of sacramentalism." Certain practical difficulties (*e.g.*, the danger of using fermented wine) reinforced this conviction. One Angli-

can only—Dean Farrar—urged reintroduction of the sacraments; the others felt, no doubt rightly, that their discontinuance saved the Army from “schismatical procedure” (as Westcott put it).

Bramwell Booth is an enthusiast for his cause, proud beyond measure of any word or deed of approval from the great or near-great. Perhaps nothing in his life so thrilled him as the privilege of attending King Edward's coronation in his Salvationist blue; even that gorgeous and somewhat mediæval ceremony was full of incidents which reminded him of his own Salvation Army meetings. It is a pity that his own intense Christian experience ran in such a narrow channel that he could not sympathize with, nor even understand, the Christian experience which finds in the sacraments and in restrained devotions a highway to his Christ.

P. V. NORWOOD.

A Manual of Christian Beliefs. By Edwin Lewis. New York: Scribner, 1927, pp. x + 152. \$1.50.

As the author explains, this small volume is the outgrowth of discussions with various groups of people, in the course of which he has aimed to cover the area of belief which is common to Christian people in a systematic way. It takes the form of a text-book in twelve chapters, the minor sections of each being introduced by titles in leaded type, at once catching the eye and, as it seems to us, inviting a re-perusal of the subject matter. To facilitate further its use in classes, an appendix contains “Questions for Review” and others provide a well chosen bibliography with suggestions for further reading and research, all this followed by a four-page index.

This admirable design naturally befits such a manual, where anything like discursive treatment of the various themes is out of the question. And, to match this, the author's style is precisely adapted to this sort of book. There are no involved sentences, the ideas evolving naturally in the form of brief successive statements which exhibit the thought in its orderly progress to a conclusion. By this means and the avoidance of technicalities the non-theological reader is put in touch with material which usually eludes his grasp and his interest stimulated accordingly.

Passing now from the form to the substance of these conferences, we are sorry to say that the latter leaves much to be desired. With minor exceptions which need not here be noted, the first six chapters strike us as being excellent. It is when we are introduced to Christology and Ecclesiology that the teaching is less satisfactory. It is wholly consistent with modernistic thought, which aims to preserve traditional values while it discards the language and thought-forms in which these are enshrined. The author does not appear to realize that there is the slightest inconsistency in his position which logically excludes the miraculous while affirming that Jesus is a miracle. He is to be called divine, but never God. He is divine because he saves us, and his lordship over all humanity is his due because of his moral elevation. He had his beginning in time. His pre-existence is a theological speculation. The credal formulæ which assert this are treated with disrespect as involving an impossible view for the modern mind, and yet while the theory of two natures is rejected he affirms that Christ is undoubtedly divine and human. In his account of our Lord's consciousness no mention is made of the saying in Mt. xi. 27 and Lk. x. 22. The self-assertion of Christ and his habitual demand for that trust and allegiance which can only be claimed for God are apparently regarded as non-significant factors in a truly modern estimate of his person, as they are not even alluded to. Naturally the doctrine of the Trinity is noticed here and there throughout the discussion: there are just four references to it. We need not wonder at this. The writer is before all else a pragmatist. We are interested in God only as he does something for us, and a "highly speculative doctrine about the interior life of God" is valuable only because its underlying truth is that of God's utter adequacy for our needs. In line with this the Holy Spirit is described as "so to speak, a divine-human fusion. And again, *"This power of God to enter into the life of men is what we mean by the Holy Spirit on its so-called objective side."* The italics are the author's and the words conclude a statement to the effect that "the trinitarian formula reveals a sound in-

stinct for fact—fact which those who surrender the formula will still have to recognize and protect.” The reason why the formula is “*becoming* increasingly unsatisfactory” is because “much that has been said about the Trinity would seem to suppose that there are three distinct and separate Gods,” as if at any time in the past tritheism were less intolerable than it is today, and as if such a thinly-veiled Sabellianism as that which is here offered in substitution for it could pass muster.

The author's view of the Church is in keeping with that of the views expressed above. Various forms of organization exist and this phenomenon is “perhaps just as well” as one organization would tend to become arrogant. “Where the Spirit of Christ is, there is the Catholic Church”. He considers that Protestantism was largely a protest against the catholic idea of the church, and that denominationalism is simply this idea run wild, a fact which does not invalidate the principle. Yet in accordance with his pragmatic principles he says that what is needed is a way of avoiding mere denominationalism on the one hand, and on the other hand the literal *identifying* of “the church which is His Body” with any form of organization. In all this we have failed to discover any basis for the conception of corporate authority on the part of the Church, however attenuated the idea, except as groups of likeminded people may be said to possess something more in this line than any individual. And, furthermore, we cannot see that the views here expressed are especially modern or that anything constructive emerges in the author's exposition. Whatever else may be said of this book, it fails to bear out the publisher's announcement that it is “loyal to the characteristic emphases of historical Christianity.”

T. B. FOSTER.

Plainsong Accompaniment. By J. H. Arnold. London: Oxford University Press. (N. Y.: Oxford University Press, American Branch), 1927, pp. xv + 170.

At last we have a copious, scholarly, and fascinating treatise on the accompaniment of Plainsong for English text. For Latin Plainsong, we have the excellent books of Max Springer and of

Dom Johnner well translated into English. But the average organist will greatly prefer a work which does not involve him in the difficult and delicate problems of the relation between the rhythms of ecclesiastical Latin and those of English. Mr. Francis Burgess has given us two helpful studies on these lines; but their scope is very limited, and an exhaustive textbook has long been urgently needed. For the excluding bar to the more general introduction of Plainsong is not its graphic though unfamiliar notation, nor the difficulty of teaching its rhythms to singers; but the fact that the organist must learn to accompany the chant in its own musical style; reflecting every fluctuating movement of the words which alone give the melodies their characteristic rhythms. You can not write out an accompaniment to a Gregorian psalm-tone: for every verse of the psalm demands its own special accompaniment. A study of this volume will enable any organist with a knowledge of elementary harmony, a sense of musical beauty, and a little leisure for intelligent practice, to move freely among the tonalities and rhythms of the ancient chant.

Preliminary chapters on the notation, rhythm, and tonality of Plainsong lead to a highly practical treatment of methods of accompaniment; with chord material drawn from the modes, and the placing of the chords imposed by the rhythms. Over-strictness is better than laxity; but in limiting the available chords to the triads and their first inversions, does not the author overlook the melodic outlines based on chords of the seventh? If such chords are inherent in the melodic plan, why forbid them in accompanying it? And surely second inversions may sometimes be employed as passing chords, where they are quite without cadential effect.

Mr. Arnold's suggestions as to the placing of chords are admirable: and this is the very point of error in so many played and printed accompaniments overloaded with harmonic change to the destruction of fluent rhythm. "The flowing movement of parts is of the very essence of a satisfying accompaniment." This needed statement is illustrated by many actual organ parts both in

the body of the book and in a supplement of some sixty pages. Among them appears a novelty in the way of chord sequences placed high above the voices of the singers who alone carry the melody. This device should be used with extreme caution, and only in churches where organist and choir alike have developed great skill and rhythmic flexibility. One notes also with some doubt the author's defense of stepping outside of modal limits by the use of the *tierce de picardie* and similar effects, which he says are at least arguable. But he tempers the argument by the prudent statement that "it is undoubtedly a sterling rule to stick to the notes of the mode." The varied accompaniments to the psalm-tones in the supplement will be found most useful.

This much needed volume should be in the hands of every Church organist and student of Church music. Its use will undoubtedly stimulate the growth of the Plainsong revival in English speaking countries.

WILFRED DOUGLAS.

The Logic of Modern Physics. By P. W. Bridgman. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. xiv + 228. \$2.50.

The occasion for this work is the new development in experimental physics associated with the behavior of the electron, relativity, and the new quantum-mechanics. It deals with the 'interpretative' aspect of physics. Here the problem is two-fold: (1) 'the problem of *translating* the evidence of experiment into other language'—since these experiments are concerned with 'things so small as to be forever beyond the possibility of direct experience'; and (2) the problem of '*understanding* the translated experimental evidence'. The great difficulty of the latter lies in the contrast between the new experimental facts and those of our ordinary experience: *e.g.*, we have no direct experience of those high velocities at which the ordinary laws of physics, and even the concepts of space and time, seem to break down. Though tempted to do so, the author refuses to resort to any metaphysical constructions, and prefers to deal strictly with the logic involved. This is of course a form of epistemology, but the author declines to consider the subjective aspect, states of consciousness, and so

on. His chief contribution is an exposition and application of the principle which he calls 'the operational character of concepts' (which is surely sufficiently non-aprioristic!). This principle (for which he claims the example of Einstein) enables him to leave at one side all 'meaningless' questions, an interesting and instructive list of examples of which is provided, and to press the issue to a recognition of the approximate character of empirical knowledge and to a severe limitation (*adversus* Whitehead and Russell) of the rôle of mathematics in physics.

"We are convinced that purely mathematical reasoning never can yield physical results—that if anything physical comes out of mathematics it must have been put in in another form. Our problem is to find where the physics got into the general theory" (p. 169).

Einstein would seem to stand in the way of such a generalization; but while accepting the formula of special relativity, which contains physical data, the author is inclined to hold that

"General relativity does not give us a comprehensive formulation of the behavior of all nature, and as far as we can see, we are still as far as ever from such a general formulation" (p. 178).

"It seems to me that it is very questionable whether Einstein, and all the rest of modern physics, for that matter, have not paid too high a price for simplicity and mathematical tractability in choosing to treat light as a thing that travels. . . . The properties of light remain incongruous and inconsistent when we try to think of them in terms of material things" (p. 164).

Of particular interest to theological readers will be found his section on Determinism. The theory is still popular: the author might have cited, for refutation, Bertrand Russell's picture of a magnified 'Somerset-House', in *What I Believe*.

"If we are right in supposing that physical evidence gives no warrant for the idea that nature is finite downward, we have not only repudiated the thesis of simplicity but we have also made a very important observation on the other general thesis . . . of physical determinism. By determinism we understand the belief that the future of the whole universe, or of an isolated part of it, is determined in terms of a complete description of its present condition. . . . It is popularly assumed that every physicist subscribes to some such thesis as this. But now if there is infinite structure even in a small isolated part of the universe, a complete description of it is impossible, and the doctrine as stated must be abandoned. It seems to me that all present physical evidence prepares us to admit this possibility" (pp. 209f).

The counsel sometimes offered theologians in their dealings with the physical sciences might be paraphrased in the admonition, 'Salute and pass'; and certainly the amateur who rashly intrudes, seeking only to find what he can pocket and carry off for apologetic purposes, would be better employed at something else. But at the same time modern theology cannot hold aloof from science, and the conclusions of physics, astronomy, biology, and the other sciences are as valid data for theological synthesis as are those of history, philosophy, or religious experience. The cautious thinker will not try to adapt to his purpose every latest deliverance of scientific investigation, convinced without proof long before the scientific authorities have had time to examine, criticize, or verify; but in the same mood of patient study, and of earnest thinking-through of problems, and of entire reverence for truth, he will try to do his modest best to arrive at that unified, synoptic viewpoint without which theology must eventually perish and science lose its interest and meaning. By all such students the present volume will be heartily welcomed and highly appraised.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Old Testament, Judaism

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. *Volume of Plates, I.* Prepared by C. T. Seltman. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. xxviii + 395. \$7.00.

The first Volume of Plates in the *Cambridge Ancient History* is designed to accompany Volumes I-IV, and hence covers Primitive Man, the Neolithic and Bronze Age Cultures, Egypt from the Pre-dynastic period down to the XXVIth Dynasty, Babylonia, Assyria, the Early Aegean Civilization, Crete and Mycenae, Athens and the Greek World down to the Age of the Tyrants, the West, and outlying peoples and cultures. Early Greek religion and mythology are fairly represented, as also early coinage, though as a rule well-known examples, familiar from numerous other works, are not repeated. Since the volume may be purchased separately it will be useful apart from the series to which it belongs; though for the *Ancient History* it is a most valuable and indispensable addition.

Beginners' Hebrew Grammar. By H. L. Creager, with the collaboration of H. C. Alleman. New York: D. C. Heath, 1927, pp. x + 356. \$3.00.

The advantages of this new grammar over its predecessors are easily stated and seem quite obvious. Though quite thorough in treatment, and much more than a Primer, the arrangement is such that beginning students can find their way without confusion. The 'inductive' method is combined with the systematic: chapter vi introduces the student to his first reading of Hebrew, with the text and an interlinear translation of Ex. iii. 1-iv. 9. There are of course regular exercises in each chapter, both Hebrew and English, and further reading in the Bible is provided between the sections on the Regular and Irregular Verbs. In treating the latter verbs, a unique 'skeleton paradigm' is used, facilitating comparison with the strong forms and thus helping the student to memorize them more readily. The grammar promises to be of real usefulness, and the author claims for his method actual success in the classroom.

The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragments of Genesis. By Henry A. Sanders and Carl Schmidt. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. xiii + 436. \$3.50.

The Washington MS. of the Minor Prophets (= Greek MS. V¹ in the Freer Collection) was bought in Cairo in 1916; the Berlin Genesis was purchased at the same place in 1906. The delay in publication is partly accounted for by the War, partly by the cost of publication (now met by the Freer Research and Publication Fund: it is Vol. XXI in the 'University of Michigan

Studies: Humanistic Series'), and partly by the difficult and tedious process of arranging the fragments in proper order, photographing, etc. The process is described in detail and will be of interest to many persons for whom the technique of archæology is full of fascination.

For the text-criticism of the LXX the two MSS. are fairly important. Professor Sanders thinks that "the W text came from the upper Nile or the Fayûm and is most closely affiliated with the Achmimic Version. The Old Latin came presumably from Alexandria. . . . When *Aleph* differs from B, or Q differs from A, they incline towards W and the Achmimic, yet in all these groups we are dealing with the basic Egyptian text, which shows innumerable cross-currents of relationship" (p. 41).

The MS.-fragment of Genesis is the one described and listed by Rahlfs as 911 (cf. *Genesis*, 1926, in the new Göttingen LXX, pp. 20 ff.), and like W probably dates from the period between the middle and end of the third century. (If so, these are our earliest MSS. for the LXX.) It shows traces of comparison with the Hebrew, and hence is not so valuable for determining the original Greek text as are some of the later, uncial MSS. (p. 265). Origen was not the first to correct the text by comparison with the Hebrew! The value of the MS. is found chiefly in the help it gives in reconstructing the pre-Origenian text.

Josephus, Vol. ii. *The Jewish War, Books i-iii*. With an English translation by H. St. J. Thackeray. New York: Putnam, 1927, pp. xxxii + 727, with maps. \$2.50.

Dr. Thackeray's text and translation of Josephus in the Loeb Classical Library is destined to be the standard English edition. The text, though based upon Niese, represents a fresh study of the MSS. and of earlier editors. The translation is careful and exact, and, moreover, good English. Sufficient notes are supplied to make clear most points of obscurity and to elucidate references that were obvious to Josephus' earliest readers if not to us.

The present volume, containing the first three books of the *War* (i.e. up to Josephus' accession to the staff of Vespasian and the Battle on Lake Tiberias) contains the sketch of the antecedents of the rebellion, and is therefore most important for the background of the Gospels and first half of Acts. Incidentally, the Preface discusses Eisler's theory of the Slavonic version, and promises a translation of parts of it as an appendix to Vol. iii.

Hiob. Das Buch vom Sinn des Leidens. Gekürzt und verdeutscht. By Hans Schmidt. Printed in two colors. Tübingen: Mohr, 1927, pp. 54. M. 3, bound M. 5.

A modern German abridgement and metrical translation of the Book of Job, with an explanatory *Nachwort* and note. The textual and exegetical viewpoint are those of the author's *Gott und das Leid im Alten Testament* (Giesen, 1926). The translation is good and the little work is most attractively printed.

Whither. By M. Z. Feierberg. New York: Bloch, 1927, pp. 232. \$1.50.

The growing interest in modern Jewish literature is finely subserved by the series of "Student's Hebrew Classics," vocalized and edited with notes and complete vocabulary by S. Goldman and A. H. Friedland. The story is somewhat autobiographical, and has a Zionist *Motif*. The glossary and notes will enable Christian students who know Hebrew to make headway in contemporary Jewish literature. Feierberg was a Russian Jew who died in 1900, at the age of twenty-five.

The Indestructible Faith. By David G. Einstein. New York: Bloch, 1927, pp. vii + 207. \$2.50.

This is an earnest and temperate (though often rather dull and clumsily expressed) apologia for liberal Judaism. It goes at length into the varying causes for a fairly constant anti-Semitism, political, religious, racial, and economic, pleading the unfairness of treating the Jew as an alien in modern liberal America, in these days when it is evident that not race, nor religion, is basic in nationality, but language and common every-day interests. There is much in praise of "Americanism." Defects in actual Judaism are recognized: it must purge itself of some "outworn religious concepts" and some "misguiding social concepts," of which the worst is covenantal exclusiveness. "There is only one God, and we are his one and only people"—the first clause is the indestructible faith: the second must be dropped, along with its consequent social ideas. Jewish absorption in finance is explained by historical circumstances. The Unity and the "non-particularization" (as against "particularization" in Incarnation and the sacramental principle generally) of Deity, the "decentralization of its human spiritual authority," its lack of dogmas, and its evolutionary adaptability, constitute the indestructible features of Judaism: man must have a spiritual religion, and *this* religion is the one which promises best (in union with Christianity) to be serviceable for human well being. Such is the argument. M. B. S.

New Testament

A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament. By H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. xx + 356. \$4.00.

A new Grammar of N. T. Greek in textbook form, combining the results of modern research—chiefly of Robertson and Moulton—in such a way as to be grasped by the beginner, has been needed for some time. And here it is, in clear and readable style (almost like Moulton's own), thoroughly historical in viewpoint, and in treatment full without being heavy.

But it is more than a compendium: the authors have views of their own, e.g. that "the cases should be approached from the viewpoint of function rather than form, and that there were in reality eight cases in Greek," the additional ones, as in Sanskrit, being the Locative and Instrumental. In this they agree with Robertson, who is positive, rather than with Moulton, who did not quite make up his mind to accept the theory.

With Moulton they agree about the Particles and Connectives, *e.g.*, *own*, and *an* (with the force of 'ever'). The use of graphs is a help in representing the precise shade of meaning in verbs and prepositions.

Certain Alleged Gospel Sources. By W. Lockton. New York: Longmans, 1927, ix + 74. \$1.40.

Mr. Lockton endeavors in this volume, which is subtitled "A Study of Q, Proto-Luke, and M," to support his thesis of *The Three Traditions in the Gospels* by a criticism of alternative theories. He claims that his theory provides "the only explanation of many thousands of points in the gospels which no form of the Mark-Q hypothesis touches," and that "it is not necessary in a critical study of the gospels to take as axioms presuppositions which had their origin in German scepticism." He holds that the teaching ascribed to our Lord in the Fourth Gospel is *not* a later development, but rather "that it is of primary authority and essentially primitive, whereas what we find in the Second Gospel is often at best only secondary, and in many places shews a partial reversion to Judaism."

An unusual thesis, these days! But at least the author has freed himself from the charge that he failed to weigh alternative theories before announcing his own.

New Solutions of New Testament Problems. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. xi + 127. \$2.00.

A collection of ten papers and essays, the first five of which deal with the assembling and publication of the *corpus* of Pauline Epistles, the next two with the origin and date of Acts, the final three with the vocabulary of Luke and Acts, First Clement (as 'called forth by Hebrews'), and the original conclusion of Mark.

Professor Goodspeed believes that the publication of the Pauline *corpus* marked a turning-point in the literary history of early Christianity. It was occasioned by the appearance of Acts. 'Ephesians' was produced to head the list of Paul's letters, and to transform the collection into an encyclical addressed to all the churches. The publication initiated "a shower of church letters and encyclicals, all more or less influenced and even shaped by the collected Pauline letters." Even the formation of the collection of the gospels was one such result. Hence the event was one of farther-reaching importance than simply its effect upon the Canon.

Grundriss der Neutestamentlichen Theologie. By Theodor Zahn. Leipzig: Deichert, 1928, pp. vi + 132. M. 4.80, bound M. 6.

A wonderfully condensed outline of N. T. Theology by the veteran commentator and historian, representing the conservative conclusions of a lifetime of N. T. research.

Griechisch—Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. By Erwin Preuschen. Second edition, entirely revised, by Walter Bauer. 9th Lieferung, *Peirazō-Smaragdos*, coll. 1025-1216. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928, M. 4.50.

Dr. Bauer's new edition of Preuschen's well-known N. T. Lexicon will be complete with one more installment. Notices of earlier numbers have appeared in this REVIEW. The work is quite indispensable to all thorough students of N. T. and early Christian literature.

The Church of the New Testament. By J. F. Como. Boston: Stratford, 1927, pp. 31. Fifty cents.

An attempt to find the Episcopal Church in full bloom in the New Testament. The argument is based on selected texts without consideration of textual questions. "John 20: 22 is the record of our Lord instituting the sacrament of Confirmation," p. 13. The Pastoral Epistles are used as if unquestionably by St. Paul. "Lay hands suddenly on no man," 1 Tim. 5: 22, is usually interpreted of ordination, probably refers to the reception of penitents, but to the author is written of Confirmation. A. H. F.

Church History

Grundsüge der Kirchengeschichte. By Hans von Schubert. Ninth edition. Tübingen: Mohr, 1928, pp. viii + 318. M. 6, bound M. 7.50.

Dr. von Schubert's Outline of Church History is well known to American students in translation. The new German edition is a complete revision of the old, and incorporates much new matter, especially in the chapters on the Presuppositions (i), on the Rise of the Catholic Church (iii), and on the Modern Period (xix). The present edition is still the valuable work it has been all along, but with the needed revision hitherto impossible on account of the stereotype plates.

Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte. II. *Der Osten*, First half-volume. By Karl Holl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1927, pp. 224. M. 7.50.

The first volume of Dr. Holl's collected essays was devoted to Luther, the present volume to Eastern Christianity. The present installment includes the first ten essays: Primitive Christianity and *Religionsgeschichte*; the Apocryphon of Ezekiel; St. Paul's idea of the Church in relation to that of the primitive community; the conception of martyrdom (three essays); Exposition of the second article of the so-called Apostles' Creed; Origin of the Feast of the Epiphany; origin of the four fasts in the Greek church; a fragment of a hitherto unknown letter of Epiphanius. The editorial work has been done by pupils of Dr. Holl under the leadership of his friend and associate, Prof. Hans Lietzmann of Berlin. The material collected in these essays is of utmost value, the judgment of the late Dr. Holl was sound and trustworthy on most matters, and students of ecclesiastical history will find herein a mine of suggestion.

An Outline of the History of Doctrines. By E. H. Klotzsche. Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1927, pp. viii + 262. \$2.00.

This book, designed as a text-book for theological students of the Lutheran Church, traces 'the gradual development of the Christian doctrine to its final dogmatic formation.' This final formation the author places at the second Council of Nicaea for the Eastern Orthodox, at the Vatican Council for the 'Romish Church,' at the Confessions of the sixteenth century for Protestantism. This limitation excludes many subjects, *e.g.* Arminianism, which one might expect to find treated in a history of doctrines. More serious than this limitation is the author's limitation of vision. All doctrines dealt with tend to be tested by their conformity to Lutheran standards. This limitation would not be so serious, were it not for the fact that it leads the author into inaccuracies. He rather delights to make good Lutherans out of the Fathers by inserting a judicious 'only' now and again. The Alexandrians see in the Eucharist 'only a symbol,' St. Augustine's 'secundum quemdam modum' is translated 'only in a certain manner.'

The Lutheran theological controversies of the sixteenth century are outlined in convenient form. There are very few modern books cited in the text or listed in the bibliography. The tone of the book is old-fashioned. W. F. W.

The Early Church and Social Life. By Norman H. Baynes. London: Bell, 1927, pp. 16. 1 s.

A selected bibliography covering the first three centuries, with comments. Fairly full and up to date.

Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs. Tr. with notes and Ints. by E. C. E. Owen. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. 183. \$2.00.

A convenient little volume giving translations of such *Acta* as the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Scillitan saints, Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, S. Cassian, S. Procopius, etc., thus including some of the less-known along with the better-known, and providing useful introductions and good though brief notes.

Der Brief an Diognetos. Ed. by Joh. Geffcken. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1928, pp. viii + 27. M. 1.50.

No. 4 is a new series of 'Kommentierte Griechische und Lateinische Texte' edited by Professor Geffcken. It has a good introduction and a very full commentary, textual, linguistic, and historical.

Dio's Roman History. With an Eng. tr. by Earnest Cary, on the basis of the version of H. B. Foster. Vol. ix. New York: Putnam, 1927, pp. v + 572. \$2.50.

The Loeb Library edition and translation of Cassius Dio is now complete with the appearance of Vol. ix. Dio was a relative of Dio Chrysostom, the

orator, and a contemporary of Origen. Though probably born in the East (his father was successively governor of Cilicia and Dalmatia) he wrote in Italy, where he owned a country-seat in Capua. The remaining fragments of his great work on Roman History total only a third of its original extent; and the remains, in the form of Epitomes, of the last third of that work, covering the period from Marcus Aurelius to his own time, are all found within the present volume.

The importance of the History for contemporaneous Church History is not great, though it at least contributes toward a view of the political background. A fine index to the whole work concludes the volume.

Augustins Confessiones. By Max Zepf. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926, pp. iii + 105. M. 4.20.

In the 'Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte,' ed. by E. Hoffmann and H. Rickert Mr. Zepf has caught the true spirit of St. Augustine, and the book is a genuine interpretation. Ch. i deals with the literary character of the *Confessions*, and brings together a large amount of data as evidence for the 'hymnological' character of the work—a theory that did not greatly impress the Cambridge editors (even in the new edition, 1927), since the *Confessions* seem *sui generis*; but one that at least points the direction in which whatever antecedents there were must be sought. More important is ch. ii, which studies the inner development of St. Augustine from the time of his conversion to that of the writing of the *Confessions*. Here also the newer theories are to the fore: Augustine's conversion was really to the *vita contemplativa*, and it was the decision to put into effect the philosophical life depicted in Cicero's *Hortensius* (p. 22). This is resting a good deal on a book known only from fragments, and is reading rather much between the lines of the *Confessions*, *Soliloquies*, *de Beata Vita*, etc. Augustine read Cicero as a youth, and for years put off his philosophic repentance; when the day came, his 'conversion' was to Christ and not merely to the *vita contemplativa*—though conversion to Christ doubtless included that also. Zepf takes the problem in both hands and works out the course of the saint's intellectual development during the decade following his conversion (he dates the *Conf.* 397 A.D.) in a fairly convincing manner. It would be more convincing, perhaps, if we could shake off the traditional interpretations and associations of the *Confessions*—i.e. the *Confessions* treated almost exclusively as an autobiographical source.

A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. By F. J. E. Raby. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. xii + 491. \$7.00.

A magnificent, fully documented account of the Latin poetry of the Catholic Church from its beginnings—almost at the beginning of the Church's history, but most conspicuously in the third century—to its culmination in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the *Stabat Mater* and *Dies Irae*, "the two su-

preme productions of the poetical genius of the Franciscan movement and the last authentic voices of Catholic hymnody." Thereafter followed the Renaissance and the birth of the national literatures of Europe. History, biography, and examples of hymns and other poems are woven together into a thoroughly interesting account of these ten centuries of growth, change, and ever-advancing spiritual life. Christian-Latin poetry, like Christian art, took its rise in the adaptation of classical poetic forms to the purposes of Christian worship and instruction. Sermons, instructions, exhortations were set forth in song, as well as hymns of praise and adoration. The classical spirit lived on, as well as the classical form; but there was an added freshness, joyousness, child-like *naïveté* in many of the early Christian lyrics (not in all) which was a new thing in Latin verse. Classic Latin poetry never quite equalled it—even Virgil, Horace, and Ovid were too much affected by the Greek inheritance, by the ethos of finality which an aged civilization provided, by a reaching-out for concrete, statuesque form. Hence a sense of romantic freedom is to be found in Christian poetry, lacking in the earlier classicism. It is this joyousness, freedom, *élan* which characterizes Catholic hymnody at its best, and demands music for its suitable recitation.

But darkness as well as light was there also, and it is part of that *complexio oppositorum* which we find in the Catholic outlook that led the Franciscans, *joculatores domini*, to utter the sad, mournful, and awe-ful strains of the finest thirteenth-century hymns. It is this double tradition, with its classical foundation, that traditional Christian hymnody inherits, and that is to be found in much of the religious poetry of later centuries. Indeed, much of the later poetry in our hymnals, until we come down to recent productions, bears this stamp; and one is continually struck by the superior freshness, vitality, objectivity of the older hymns. Modern subjectivism is almost unknown in them; and 'the old is better.'

Mr. Raby cannot be made responsible for these reflections; but his volume, itself entirely 'objective' in manner, suggests some of these inevitable contrasts. One wishes that more of these ancient hymns were sung today—or at least more hymns in the ancient manner, simple, objective, doctrinal, hymns of worship and adoration rather than of pious introspection.

Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library. Compiled by Reginald Maxwell Woolley. Oxford University Press: American Branch, New York, 1927, pp. xxiv + 190. \$6.00.

In this most careful compilation each manuscript is collated, its contents fully indicated (the *Explicits*, however, have, for reasons of economy, been omitted in most cases) and any illuminations described. The book will be of great value to students doing research work concerning the Middle Ages (there are almost no manuscripts of the classics). The Preface contains a short history of the Library and in it are given the twelfth century Catalogue of Hamo and the fifteenth century Catalogue. It will be a happy day for scholars when every Library has its manuscripts catalogued as accurately and completely as the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library. W. F. W.

Some Recently Discovered Franciscan Documents and their Relations to the Second Life by Celano and the 'Speculum Perfectionis.' By A. G. Little. Oxford University Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. 32. \$1.00.

Deals with three publications by Fr. Lemmens, the author, and Fr. Delorme respectively, containing documents discovered since Sabatier published the *Speculum Perfectionis* in 1898. The author maintains that they exhibit in a number of instances matter more original than that contained in Celano's *Second Life*, although much of this matter appears also in the *Speculum*. There are appended tables showing the relations between II Celano, these documents, and Sabatier's *Speculum*. F. J.

Saint Francis the Christian Exemplar. By Seymour Van Santvoord. New York: Dutton, 1927, pp. 157. \$1.50.

This sketch of the life of St. Francis is written in a spirit of deeply reverential admiration and in a pleasantly readable style. It does not claim to be a contribution to scholarship, and depends for its facts mainly on Sabatier.

W. F. W.

Religious Thought in the Last Quarter-Century. Edited by Gerald B. Smith. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. vii + 239. \$3.00.

During the years 1926 the *Journal of Religion* published a series of articles surveying the progress of studies in various fields of theology since 1900. These have now been collected into a volume which, supplementing the earlier *Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion*, will give students a most useful orientation to contemporary theology generally. Church History is not adequately represented, nor is Ethics or Systematic Theology. But the volume is most useful, as far as it goes.

Current Christian Thinking. By Gerald B. Smith. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 209. \$2.00.

A useful summary of contemporary 'history of doctrine,' giving in a well-balanced view the thought of Roman Catholicism, the Significance of the Protestant Revolt, Modernism, and its rebuff by the Roman authorities, Fundamentalism, and the more liberal but equally evangelical movements of thought within Protestant circles during the past generation. It is a good book for a first survey of contemporary Protestant Theology. Here and there one questions the emphasis—e.g., "Protestantism originally merely substituted the God of Protestant theology for the God of Catholic theology and assumed that the power in control of the universe was identical with the Protestant God" (p. 19). Was it so simple as that? And wasn't the Protestant and Catholic God originally one and the same, but with very different interpretations of His requirements? Was not early Protestant theology as dependent, on its part, upon the mediæval synthesis, as was Trent, at the other wing?—But this is only one sentence; the main treatment in the book is excellent, in proportion and in discrimination.

Biography

Sören Kierkegaard. By Eduard Geismar. *Ltg. 2. Der Dichter der Stadien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1927, pp. 123-247. M. 4.20.

Kierkegaard, the Danish mystic and spiritual reformer, has had, naturally enough, far less influence in English-speaking countries than in his own, and in other Scandinavian countries, and in Germany. The present biography, giving a full and detailed account of his life, is by a devoted admirer. One characteristic of the work is its attempt to use psycho-analytic methods of biography.

Philo Woodruff Sprague. The collected essays of eight intimate associates. Privately printed (Copyr. St. John's Church, Charlestown, Mass.), 1927, pp. 74.

A memorial volume in honor of a well-beloved clergyman of the Diocese of Massachusetts, containing a foreword by Bishop Lawrence, and essays by six clergymen of the Diocese, one communicant of his parish, and his friend and physician.

Thomas March Clark, Fifth Bishop of Rhode Island. By Mary Clerk Sturtevant. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. xii + 235. \$3.00.

The time spent in reading this book, by Bishop Clark's daughter, will be pleasantly spent. Unfortunately the years from 1867 to the Bishop's death in 1903 are too briefly treated to make this a satisfactorily complete biography. This defect has been recognized by the Editor, Latta Griswold, and he has added reminiscences by Bishop Lawrence and others, in order to supply it. One could wish that it had been thought possible to adopt the bolder policy of rewriting the entire second section dealing with Bishop Clark's life as Bishop of Rhode Island. Still, it would have been a very bold policy to attempt to equal the charm with which the Bishop's early life and ministry are described in the first section. W. F. W.

Early Days at Saint Mary's. By Charles Wesley Leffingwell. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1926, pp. xi + 319. \$3.00.

Dr. Leffingwell was one of the pioneers in the work of the Church in secondary education, and the story of St. Mary's, Knoxville, Illinois, is in large part the story of his own gracious life. To the alumnae and patrons of the school the book will have of course a special and sentimental value; to masters of girls' schools it will be a joy and inspiration; but far and beyond all that it is a valuable historical record of life in the Middle West during that critical period lying between the Civil War and the great World War.

In April, 1868, Dr. Leffingwell accepted the invitation of Bishop Whitehouse to conduct the school. That decision determined his career for half a century, a career of great distinction in the field of education, a career of solid sacrificial service as a priest in the Church of God.

The story of these early days is more than a story: it is a storehouse of what scholars call "original sources," of documents, letters, extracts from minutes, addresses, programs, newspaper clippings,—the very stuff from which history will one day be written. The book is handsomely bound and profusely illustrated. G. C. S.

History of Religions

Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte. Edited by Hans Haas. Lfg. 12. *Die Religion der Jaina's.* By W. Kirfel. Leipzig: Deichert, 1928, pp. xxv + 77 Plates. M. 9.

Like earlier numbers in the series the religion of Jainism is illustrated by fine photographic reproductions of works of art, drawings, sculptures, architecture, bas-reliefs, and living devotees. The introduction gives a full account of the meaning of the plates. The whole series is most useful to the student or teacher of the History of Religions.

The Study of Religions. By Stanley A. Cook. London: A. and C. Black (New York: Macmillan), 1914, pp. xxiv + 439. 7s. 6d.

Although published in 1914, just after the outbreak of the war, and very critical of German methods of studying *Religionsgeschichte*, the volume is still worth careful study. It is directly concerned with Methodology—with such problems as the individual as a differential factor in religion, with the problem of survival, with the relation of the physical and social environment to the progress and development of religion. The bearing of History of Religions upon the study of the Old Testament, *e.g.*, and the importance of its results for Philosophy of Religion, are both fully recognized.

Iranian Studies. By the Dastur Cursetji Erachji Pavry. Bombay: Captain Printing Works (London: Luzac), 1927, pp. xxii + 239. Rs. 10.

It was an excellent idea on the part of prominent Indian Parsis to secure the translation of the Dastur Pavry's views on matters of Zoroastrian ritual. One of these, Mr. G. K. Nariman, has written an introduction to the present volume, in which the venerable scholar, who has hitherto written entirely in Gujarati, makes his bow before an English public.

There was in truth much reason for desiring an English version of the ideas of one identified neither with the extremely orthodox nor with the radical wing of his community.

It is a pity, however, that the version is not better than it is. The translation itself does not appear inadequate and the English is fairly good. But the printing and proof-reading would appear to have been done by readers ignorant of the language. The printed list of *errata* notes only a small number of the mistakes made. But, apart from these, and from such errors as "Ardashir was a Magi," there are many annoying variations in the spelling of the proper names. Thus we have *Amshaspands*, *Amashashpands*, and *Amshashpendes*; *Mobeds* and *Mobads*; *Faridoon*, *Faridun* and *Faredoon*; *Kaikhosru* and *Kekhushro*; and so on.

The author's main theme is to describe the original ritual of early Iranian times; to show the changes and improvements made during the Sassanian period; and to show that, in the ups and downs of the centuries since, the ceremonial side of the religion has suffered from many evil influences.

To a western scholar the most interesting part of the book is that which deals with the resemblance between Avestan and Vedic religion. Some other portions of the volume will appear fantastic, such as the assertion that the Parthians were Semitic in race. The paper which attempts to prove from the Avesta that the earliest Iranian home was at the North Pole, where the salubrity of the climate accounts for the thousand years of Jamshid's reign, is a curious piece of exegesis. But there is much else of more solid value.

H. H. G.

Anthropos and Son of Man. A Study in the Religious Syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient. By Carl H. Kraeling. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1927, pp. x + 191.

Dr. Kraeling has in this volume pushed back the investigation of the term 'Son of Man' beyond the sources which have generally been regarded as ultimate. He has proved quite clearly that for a complete understanding of the phrase we must go behind the Messianic expectation of the Hebrew apocalypticists. By a study of Mandæan, Manichæan and Gnostic sources he is led to see indications that the ideal Man of Zoroastrian literature may fitly be viewed as having furnished material for the later conception of the Bar Nasha. Nay, more, for the Gayomart of Iranian philosophy is himself to be identified with the Marduk of Babylonian mythology, victor over the forces of darkness and evil. "In the capacity of victorious primordial champion and manlike deity he was received into Judaism in the second pre-Christian century and furnished the inspiration for the properly nameless 'man-like one' of Daniel, and for the messianic interpretation which the figure received in the Book of Enoch."

Dr. Kraeling's thesis is worked out in the most painstaking manner possible and without doubt he has added materially to our understanding of a difficult subject. But the doubt remains whether there is not still something more ultimate than any material heretofore used. Almost all early religious systems seem to have had some conception of an ideal man who sacrificed himself for the creation of the universe. Such is the P'an-ku of the Chinese, and such is the Purusha, or original eternal man, of the Upanishads. In a recent translation of the *Dialogues* of the ascetic Baba L'al Das we have a description of the universe as a human body which might almost have been borrowed from the Chinese, though it probably represents a widely diffused belief. This reflection in no wise diminishes the value of Dr. Kraeling's present work in searching for "the key to the forces which influenced nascent Christianity", but one always hesitates to accept anything as ultimate while the possibility of further investigation remains. H. H. G.

Philosophy

Plato, Vol. viii. *Charmides, Alcibiades I, II, Hipparchus, The Lovers, Theages, Minos, Epinomis*. With an English tr. by W. R. M. Lamb. New York: Putnam, 1927, pp. xx + 490. \$2.50.

The eighth volume of the Loeb Library edition and translation of Plato opens with a general introduction (*i.e.*, to Plato's Dialogues) which is a model of clearness and compactness. Then follow text and translation, on opposite pages, of the dialogues in this volume. Some of these are certainly Apocryphal, *i.e.*, come from the Platonic School but not from the master himself, and are of great interest for the history of Platonism. The value of the volume is enhanced for the general reader in that only two of the dialogues here given are to be found in Jowett's translation (*Charm.*, I Alc.). One wonders by what principle of arrangement so early a dialogue as *Charmides* was grouped with the apocrypha, but perhaps consideration of space required it. The text is ably edited, being pruned far oftener than interpolated or conjecturally emended, and usually in accordance with the great editors, Ast, Becker, Cobet, Schanz, Hermann, Burnet. Even in a tight place like *Epin.* 978d no recourse is had to emendation—though *meridas* almost suggests itself. The translation is clear, faithful, and at times even beautiful, as is the original of many a passage in the volume before us.

Plotin: Ennéades iv. Text établi et traduit. By Emile Bréhier. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres', 95 Boul. Raspail, 1927, pp. 236.

Professor Bréhier's text and translation of the *Enneads* is appearing in the 'Collection des Universités de France' published under the patronage of the Association Guillaume Budé. The present volume contains the Fourth Ennead, which deals chiefly with questions concerning the Soul: its essence (two fragments, based on Plato's *Timaeus*), various philosophical difficulties relating to the Soul, Sensation and Memory, Immortality, the Descent of the Soul into the Body, and the Soul as related to the World-Soul, a tractate that forms one of the historical links in the pantheistic chain of Stoicism, Averroism, Spinoza, and more modern representatives. In addition to text and apparatus, and translation, Prof. Bréhier has given us illuminating historical and expository introductions to the various treatises or tractates.

Aperçus de Philosophie Thomiste et de Propédeutique. By Thomas Pègues. Paris: André Blot, 1927, pp. xxiii + 446.

The author is a specialist in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, and has a great gift for explaining it in a clear and popular way. The present work is a valuable handy statement of this philosophy, quite easy to read, and of commendable brevity, considering its scope. It is ardently loyal to the masters, Aristotle and St. Thomas, and (to our taste) too prone on all occasions to eulogize them. The moderns, notably Descartes, Kant, and the more recent philosophers of the scientific method, are confronted, but of course the author does not see eye to eye with them. M. B. S.

Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion. By G. W. F. Hegel. Ed. by Georg Lasson. Leipzig: F. Meiner. I. *Begriff der Religion*, 1925, pp. xiii + 326. M. 12. II. *Die Bestimmte Religion*, i. *Die Naturreligion*, 1927, pp. xi + 247. M. 11. ii. *Die Religionen der geistigen Individualität*, 1927, pp. iv + 256. M. 11.

The first three volumes of Dr. G. Lasson's new edition of Hegel's *Religionsphilosophie* have appeared, and the remainder is soon to follow. It forms part of his edition of Hegel's Works in the Philosophical Library published by F. Meiner. There is still much of suggestion and stimulus in old Hegel, despite the vast development of History of Religions, Psychology, and Philosophy of Religion since his day. Dr. Lasson has made use of all available MSS.—e.g. in the *Begriff* not only Hegel's own lecture outlines and MS. but also the notes of his students, in 1824 and 1827, so that one can see the author's patient, persistent effort to find just the right expression for his thought. It is a hundred years too late to begin criticizing Hegel, though some of his positions were certainly quite wrong; yet the debt we owe him, and the stimulus of his work, even today, is so great that no one who ponders the forces *behind* the phenomena of religion can afford to neglect him.

Ethical Studies. By F. H. Bradley. Second edition, revised with additional notes by the author. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. xii + 344. (15 s.)

Bradley's *Ethical Studies* appeared in 1876, and was not republished until 1927. It was soon out of print, and has of late been almost unprocurable (a copy was offered in New York last year at \$15.75). The reason for failure to republish it is that the author desired to revise it before doing so; but his interests were more and more concentrated on metaphysics—resulting in *Appearance and Reality* in its successive editions, *Essays on Truth and Reality*, and other work; and the polemical parts of the early volume had achieved their purpose, as he believed, and need not appear again. Nevertheless, in 1924 he began making rough notes for a new edition, and these are now incorporated (in square brackets), even though they were incomplete and were in no way final and ready for publication at the time of the author's death.

Though more than half a century lies between the two editions, these seven essays still repay careful reading. Their mordant criticism of traditional theories and of theories popular in the 'seventies are not only interesting but deserve study. His presuppositions are those of his idealist metaphysics, and may be squared with traditional Christian presuppositions only by way of metaphysics: e.g., his doctrine of self-realization, in which the 'self' is identified 'as an infinite whole' with 'the world of others' (p. 80). "When that whole is truly infinite, and when your personal will is wholly made one with it, then you also have reached the extreme of homogeneity and specification in one, and have attained a perfect self-realization."

History of Modern Philosophy. By Horatio W. Dresser. New York: Crowell, 1928, pp. xiv + 471. \$3.00.

Dr. Dresser has completed the task begun in his *History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (already reviewed). The present volume is divided into two parts, 'From Bacon to Kant', 'From Kant to the Present Time'. In the dearth of suitable textbooks on the History of Modern Philosophy, including the present day, the work will be most welcome. Full recognition is given the general background of thought, necessary to understand the successive movements of philosophy; especially is this true of modern science, with its direct bearing not only upon Realism but also upon contemporary Idealism and other schools.

A chapter is devoted to Alexander, and considerable attention to Whitehead, Bradley and Bosanquet, Croce, Bergson, Royce, and James are carefully treated. Though necessarily brief, on account of limitations of space and the vastness of the period covered, the expositions of successive systems and points of view will be useful to the non-specialist and beginner who wishes to know what these great names stand for in the world of thought.

The Unique Status of Man. By H. Wildon Carr. New York: Macmillan, 1928, pp. 216. \$1.75.

Dr. Wildon Carr's lectures on 'Freewill in the Light of Modern Science,' delivered last year at the School of Religion, University of Southern California, are a historical survey of the problem concluding with the attribution of the concept of human freedom to the Christian religion. Indeed, in the deepest sense, all modern philosophy is Christian, is the product of Christianity. The older materialism of science (i.e., of some scientists) is bankrupt, and the conception of creative or emergent evolution demands freedom for variation—and the more of freedom the higher the evolution. All this is set forth with profound learning and with great clarity.

Science

Animal Biology. By J. B. S. Haldane and Julian Huxley. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. xiv + 344. (6s. 6d.)

The English have a way of engaging their best scholars and scientific experts to write their elementary textbooks and popular treatises. The result is thoroughly trustworthy introductory works. The present is an example, equally useful as a textbook and as a popular introduction, and of course entirely reliable: the names on the title page guarantee that.

Evolution is understood in its widest sense—the sense we are coming to understand today—as a continuous process from electron to human brain. Many illustrations have been added, as well as a useful glossary, full index, and a chart showing both individuation and aggregation in the onward progress of evolution.

Classics of Modern Science (Copernicus to Pasteur). Ed. by Wm. S. Knickerbocker. New York: Knopf, 1927, pp. xiii + 384.

Here are extracts or 'readings' from the works of thirty-six famous scientists, from Copernicus, Bacon, and Kepler, to Maxwell, Weismann, Lockyer, Pasteur, and Koch. Some of these are quite inaccessible to the general reader (e.g., Galileo's *Dialogo*), and the volume brings together passages culled from quite a library on the History of Science. Brief biographical introductions are provided. There is no question that science is being taken more and more 'seriously' by theologians, and that a modern theological library must have a section devoted to it. The usefulness of the present volume to theological readers is at once apparent.

Systematic Theology

The Faiths: Varieties of Christian Expression. Ed. by L. P. Jacks.

The Anglo-Catholic Faith. By T. A. Lacey. New York: Doran, 1927, pp. xvi + 185. \$2.00.

Canon Lacey recounts once more the story of the revival of Catholic emphasis in the Church of England, and states briefly the salient matters maintained in the movement. The telling of it is fresh and vivacious, not combative, with some frank acknowledgment of mistakes. The account of Church-and-State relations, of the esthetic mediævalism which got possession of the movement for a time, and of the adoption of the "early celebration," while the main morning service was left without even the vestiges of eucharistic worship (mistakenly, he thinks), are worth special notice. M. B. S.

The Faiths: Varieties of Christian Expression. Ed. by L. P. Jacks.

The Faith of the Roman Church. By C. C. Martindale. New York: Doran, 1927, pp. xviii + 172. \$2.00.

The jacket warns us that the "approach is militant and unapologetic." There is no suggestion that Roman Catholicism is like other Christianity except in such and such respects: it is treated as *sui generis* from the ground up. Hence its natural philosophy, its "Foundations," are sketched in, as well as "Catholic Doctrine," "The Church in History," and some notion of its prospects. Americans may be pleased to find that "the Church will become de-Europeanized in the sense that its activity will energize far more than it does in North America" (153). A tendency of the Counter-Reformation has always been to mark off Roman Catholicism very sharply from everything else, at the cost of much schism, but resulting in a well-regimented unity in what is left; the "Catholic mind" is made to look like a separate genus. The present book is too short to explain much (and there is a tremendous lot to explain): it rushes over the ground, leaving highly questionable statements everywhere. The style is intensely dynamic and modern, with an attractive colloquialism. Despite the jacket, it is a very able little apologetic. M. B. S.

Revelation and Inspiration. By Benjamin Breckenridge Warfield. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, American Branch, 1927, pp. ix + 456. \$3.00.

This is the first volume of a projected set of Professor Warfield's writings, to be reprinted from encyclopædias and periodicals. Some of these papers date from the time when *Lux Mundi* was new and "Mr. Charles Gore" was busy defending it. Some are articles in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopædia*, published in 1915. All in this volume are concerned with the authority of the Bible, on which question the Professor was as thorough a Fundamentalist as any scholar could be. Scholarship, on that basis, is apt to go into immense research into the exact historical meaning of words and phrases, such as (in this case) "It says," "Scripture says," or "God says" (introducing a Biblical quotation), *Biblia*, and *logion*, impressively erudite textual studies, exhibiting the widest knowledge of ancient texts and modern critical discussions. There are also several closely reasoned defences of high inspirationist doctrine.

M. B. S.

Rationalism and Orthodoxy of Today: An Essay in Christian Philosophy. By J. H. Beibetz. (Christian Student Movement) Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. 191. \$2.00.

The first real Christian philosophy, the Logos doctrine, can still be stated, in terms of present knowledge and ideas, as a credible Christian world-view. This is the subject of Mr. Beibetz's present book. It is much concerned with the religious philosophy of Mr. Julian Huxley, which the author believes is the only likely alternative to the Christian view. The book is rigorously argumentative, but occasionally rises to the presentation of Christian ideas in all their appeal to the whole mind, not simply to the sense for logic. There is a particularly good passage (113-5) in which it is shown that truth "is another name for an absolutely coherent experience." And that is just about what *personality* is—the unity-principle, the principle of coherence, in a varied rational experience. The value of truth in the universe is to be found just in proportion as personality is to be found in it. Some matters are raised, as the Resurrection, the Kenosis, the "impersonality" of Christ's humanity, which appear hardly any the better for being so sketchily raised. But still the book is a clear and vigorous apologetic. M. B. S.

The Necessity of Redemption: A Study in the Significance of the Atonement. By Percy Hartill. New York: Longmans, 1927, pp. 121. \$2.75.

If one holds a philosophy of the true unity of the Cosmos, the problem of evil must be met by the suggestion of a way of transmutation of evil so that it will fit in with the Absolute. Reason demands a creative act (divine) whereby evil is changed into good, sin into righteousness (human), death into life-through-death. The Christian doctrine of the sacrificial death of Christ, God and Man, answers this demand. Such is the thesis of the present book. It has the merit of a certain firm, rapid reasoning process, which reminds us of scholasticism, is truly comprehensive within its subject, though brief, and is cognizant of the latest work done thereon by others. Of course it is not incontrovertible, but it is an excellent thesis. M. B. S.

Religious Education

Introduction to the Psychology of Religion. By Frank S. Hickman. New York: Abingdon, 1926, pp. 558.

This work is designed to assist the undergraduate student in moving from general psychology to the special field of the psychology of religion. The author endeavors to give a glimpse of the variant views of the main writers in this field. His intention to be simple and helpful is well carried out. After an opening historical survey, he attempts a definition of religion, mainly in terms of attitude. Religious experience, both individual and racial is then examined, and the theories of a self are reviewed. Here the author opposes the behaviorists, and regards the self as "working in closest harmony with our biological organism, and yet relating that organism . . . with a larger destiny than the merely biological struggle for existence." A chapter is devoted to conversion and another to the struggle against sin. The discussion of conscience is well-rounded and yet not satisfying. It turns out to be "primarily an instrument for the measuring of moral worth." We hardly like to leave so important a factor in human life labelled "instrument." The section on Worship also leaves something to be desired. The author endeavors to be comprehensive, but his conviction is that worship is chiefly of the nature of personal prayer, and his appreciation of the corporate acts of worship is slight. The division of all public worship into "the sacerdotal and the deliberate" is inadequate and superficial, besides its unfavorable reflection upon the sacerdotal. The book closes with discussions of the God-idea and of inspiration. In these fields the author is conservative. He advocates the values of a personal conception of the Supreme Being, and finds inspiration to be a quality of personality allied to intuition.

The arrangement of the book for use as a text is very helpful. The material of each chapter is clearly summarized; a set of interesting questions is appended, and quite a full bibliography, chapter by chapter.

The volume should prove stimulating and illuminating to all intelligent teachers. L. B.

The Church's Unique Opportunity in Week-Day Religious Education. By Frank V. Hoag. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1928, pp. 46. \$25.

The fourteenth Hale Memorial Sermon of the Western Theological Seminary, by the Dean of Salina Cathedral, gives a good survey of contemporary week-day religious education, and points out the Church's opportunity in this field. The subject is handled by one who has had several years' experience in conducting week-day schools, and the treatment is thoroughly practical.

A Catechism of Christian Faith and Practice. Anonymous. Preface by Leighton Pullan. London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. 63.

307 questions and answers prepared by a Committee of priests and other members of the Church of England. The teaching is of the Anglo-Catholic

type, including seven sacraments and the 'Hail Mary'. It is beyond the comprehension of little children. However the language is quite plain and direct.

L. B.

A Church School Book of Prayer and Praise. By Maurice Clarke. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. xii + 75. Paper, \$.60; cloth, \$.80.

Our Church Schools have long needed assistance in obtaining variety and vitality for their periods of worship. Mr. Clarke has made a valuable contribution toward this end. Five services are planned for the different seasons of the Christian year. There are also suitable services for the Dedication of Church School Teachers, one for the Distribution, and one for the Presentation of the Lenten Offering Boxes. The responsive parts are fresh and full of suggestion, but make it necessary, of course, that there should be copies enough to supply the School. L. B.

Our Church. A Course of Study for Young People of High School Age. By John Leslie Lobingier. University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 121. Paper, \$.75.

The purpose and spirit of this manual are excellent. It discusses what the Church is; what it does, at home and abroad; how it works and is supported; its history (very much in brief) and its divisions; the modern movements for unity, world peace, and social justice.

The point of view is that of the Protestant (non-Anglican) communions. It tries earnestly to sum up the excellencies of each communion, but falls into the usual error by saying "This Church of England had its origin in the sixteenth century". The theory of the Church as an institution, and of its Sacraments would fail to measure up to Anglican standards. The construction of the "lesson" is easy and brief. L. B.

Right Living. Series II. A Discussion Course for Girls and Boys. By Maurice J. Neuberg. University of Chicago Press, 1927. *Pupil's Manual*, pp. 120. Paper, \$.75. *Teacher's Manual*, pp. 152. Paper, \$.75.

These lessons for pupils of the 8th and 9th grades, start with a problem of conduct under stated circumstances. Discussion and investigation follows with final analysis and conclusions. There is religion in the background, but the foreground is personal standards and ethics. Several lessons are spent on one topic, six, for example on cleanliness. Other topics like "sleep," "food," "drugs," "dependability," and "manners" serve to show how many things in the present day are being neglected in the homes of today, and left to the Church to teach.

The teacher's apparatus is thorough and most carefully constructed. Side reading, stories and games look attractive. Pupils must study in order to use the course. But they are likely to be interested. All in all, the series is a fine example of modern effort to approach religion through conduct. L. B.

Problems in Living. By May K. Cowles. University of Chicago Press, 1927. *Pupil's Manual*, pp. 130. \$.75.

Another collection of conduct lessons, thirty in all, for the Junior High pupil. The use of the Bible is here quite prominent and the approach is rather from religious history to conduct than from conduct to religion. There is a slight note of sentimentality which jars—and might easily alienate the very honest pupil. L. B.

Practical Theology

Faith and Order. Complete and Official Record of the Lausanne Conference.

Edited by H. N. Bate. New York: Doran, 1927, pp. xxiii + 534. \$2.50.

The printed record of the Lausanne Conference is now available for study by those who have had to be content hitherto with the reports in journals and newspapers and the few full papers that have appeared. All the papers and main addresses are here printed in full, and discussions are given in résumé. There is a list of officers and members (which also serves as an index), a list of churches represented, and a list of the members of the Continuation Committee which was appointed.

Many persons—chiefly those who stayed at home—have expressed disappointment with the Conference. Why was it unable to restore the broken unity of the Church? And why couldn't the Communion service be celebrated, in some form or other, at so momentous and sincere a gathering of Christian leaders?—In so far as this viewpoint is anything more than an expression of the naïve but invincible faith in committees, so characteristic of our times, it will find some measure of reassurance in the printed Proceedings. There was plenty of talk; but the Conference was not 'all talk.' The unanimity of motive was considerable, and the diversity in points of view enlightening. Lausanne marked a step forward in the way of mutual understanding. Finally, the measure of actual agreement indicated in the Reports of the various Sections was greater than many would have believed possible.

Christianity and Nationality. By Ernest Barker. Oxford University Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. 32.

The Burge Memorial Lecture, with an introductory address by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Barker pleads for a due regard for nationalism, as no secular and non-religious thing, but compatible both with Christianity and with a sound internationalism which shall comprehend nationality in its strength and not its weakness.

The Divine Revolution. By W. G. Peck. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. 245. \$2.40.

The author of *The Divine Society* continues his social interpretation of Christian doctrine in a work whose sub-title reveals its character as "Studies and Reflections upon the Passion of our Lord." He finds that "the death of Christ is the one truly revolutionary event that ever happened in the world,"

requiring that society shall be "a consolidation of hearts in a common sacrificial endeavor to realize the social life of God in the common good of man." Because Jesus died to make God and man one, his followers are to live sacrificial, atoning lives.

To a student of the gospels, there seems much in the author's interpretation of our Lord's mind and ministry which is disputable and highly conjectural. He seems to remain in the last stage but one of Synoptic criticism, confident of the accuracy of the Marcan order and detail. His assurance concerning the three Marcan predictions of the crucifixion, is typical of his handling of the sources, and his speculations concerning Judas illustrate his willingness to build on conjecture. As homily and as theology the book is more impressive than as history. Any clergyman who desires fresh material for Good Friday addresses will find much help and many eloquent and pungent sentences.

Those who share the author's social views are grateful debtors for his synthesis of the doctrines of Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement and the Kingdom of God with a profoundly religious passion for social renewal and revolution through the religious dynamic. We need the articulation of our theological, ethical and social convictions. But the reviewer wonders whether the "social implications" are as inevitably derived from the doctrines as Mr. Peck and others of his school believe. If it be so, why the wide divergence of social outlook within each of the theological and ecclesiastical varieties of Anglicanism? N. B. N.

Divorce and Nullity. By R. H. Charles. New York: Scribners, 1927, pp. ix + 100. \$60.

Dr. Charles returns to his subject of Marriage and Divorce in the light of N. T. teaching, the occasion being the recent pronouncements of nullity by the Roman authorities. He holds that the passage, Mk. x. 2-12, is unhistorical, and that Matthew (xix. 3-9) *deliberately* rejected the Marcan record and replaced it by one drawn from Q which was "in harmony with all other contemporary documents of the first century, bearing on the subject, Christian or Jewish." *i.e.*, the record from Q "was not designed to prove the indissolubility of marriage, but to condemn divorce when resorted to on inadequate grounds—a condemnation which applies in an intensified degree to the inadequate grounds authoritatively stated by the Roman Church as making marriage null and void." The doctrine of marriage of the Reformed Churches, as against the Roman, Dr. Charles holds to be consonant with the New Testament. "Only unchastity or something which makes the union of the pair impossible can cancel marriage." The author has little difficulty in pointing out monstrous examples of papal regulations affecting marriage and divorce on grounds of nullity.

Prayer in Christian Theology. By A. L. Lilley. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. xi + 128. \$1.60.

Christianity, as Wilhelm Bousset says, is most adequately characterised as the religion of prayer. These lectures delivered at Hereford Cathedral and

(the first and last chapters) before the University of Aberdeen, are an attempt to illustrate and to test that judgment at certain critical moments of Christian history and through the writings of competent representatives of those moments. To be sure a few names only could be chosen but they are well chosen and they do present a real continuity of the Christian doctrine of prayer. Clement of Alexandria (Christian Platonism); St. John Cassian (The Beginning of Monasticism); St. Bernard (Mediæval monasticism); St. John of the Cross (Spanish Mysticism of the 16th Century); Fénelon (Mysticism in France at the end of the 17th Century)—all these lead us up to the consideration of "Prayer in the Modern World", where it is found that the supreme need of our complex modern life is prayer: "a constant spiritual state,—not arbitrary simplification of interests, but their unification as a single instrument of the Divine will."

We recommend this little book to all our clergy, as a most excellent, thoughtful, suggestive contribution not only to their bookshelves but to their own spiritual experience. G. C. S.

Christ in the World of Today. Ed. by Charles L. Slattery. New York: Scribners, 1927, pp. xi + 305. \$2.50.

The record of the Fifty-third Anniversary meeting of the Church Congress, held last year in Los Angeles. The general subjects were 'Moral Standards in an Age of Change' (including the Rev. Henry Lewis' thought-provoking paper), New Thought and the Health Cults, Christianity and the Religious Needs of All Races (ably discussed by Dr. H. H. Gowen and Dr. W. N. Guthrie), the Catholicity of the Church (Bp. Moulton and Dr. Arthur Rogers), its Protestant character, Political and Industrial Democracy, Evangelism, and Personal Religion (concluding with a paper on the Bible by Dr. Batten). The Church Congress represents no attempt at 'government by talk,' in L. P. Jacks' phrase; but it certainly provides an interesting cross-section of thought—and talk—in the Church.

Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Vorträge. Tübingen: Mohr.

1. *Das Geheimnis in der Religion.* By Bernhard Duhm. 2d ed., 1927, pp. 29. M. 1. 20.

125. *Schleiermacher und Ritschl.* By Georg Wobbermin. 1927, pp. 44. M. 1. 20.

130. *J. G. Hamann als Theologe.* By Fritz Blanke. 1928, pp. 48. M. 1. 50.

131. *Buddhismus im Abendland der Gegenwart.* By Alf. Bertholet. 1928, pp. 40. M. 1. 50.

Mohr's 'Collection of Popular Lectures' contains a large number of titles of general interest to readers outside Germany; this is particularly true of No. 125, Dr. Wobbermin's study of Schleiermacher and Ritschl. He pleads for a synthesis of their two positions. The danger of pure Schleiermacherianism is 'Psychologism,' of pure Ritschlianism is 'Historism'; and from both, contemporary Evangelical Theology must be safeguarded—or rescued.

Handbuch für das Kirchliche Amt. Edited by W. Buntzel and M. Schian. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927-8, Lfgn. 6-7, pp. 321-448. M. 3.20 each.

Earlier installments have already been noticed in these pages. The Manual is to be a handy work for ready reference on all subjects concerned with external, official, ecclesiastical matters in the present day, and to a less degree with historical.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Ed. by H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack. Tübingen: Mohr, 1927-8, Lfgn. 20-22 and 23-24. M. 5.40 and 3.60.

The first of the two present installments completes Vol. I of the new RGG, and includes important articles on Darwinism, Deism, Descent-theory (Evolution), 'Deutschland,' 'Dogmengeschichte,' Dualism, etc. The second begins Vol. II with the letter E, and contains articles of importance on 'Einigungsbestrebungen' (Protestant Church-unity movements), England, etc.

Ministerial Ethics and Etiquette. By Nolan B. Harmon, Jr. Nashville: Cokesbury, 1928, pp. 180. \$1.50.

A very sane, wholesome, and suggestive treatise on the subject announced in the title. Though intended for clergymen of the Evangelical denominations, and making large use of the Methodist, Congregationalist, and other codes, there are many sensible suggestions in it that may well be taken to heart by clergymen more strictly governed by Canon Law and the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.

The Missionary and His Work. By L. M. A. Haughwout. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. xii + 292.

For some time there has been a suspicion abroad in the Church that its missionary work needs overhauling, and another kind of publicity than the officially approved, roseate-hued, money-reaching kind to which we are accustomed. Here is 'a voice from the field,' a book written out of experience, and with a constructive purpose.—Is it true that our Missionary Bishops and their Councils are hampered by headquarters? Is it true there are no Spanish Prayer Books in print? Is it true workers cannot live on the salaries paid? These are things for the whole Church to know, and to act upon. No mere 'Raise the apportionment' will answer! Every churchman should read the book.

The Unscriptural Character of the Alternative Consecration Prayer. By E. A. Knox. Second ed. New York: Longmans, 1927, pp. 63. \$20.

A Reply to the Bishop of Middleton by Bp. Knox, containing notes by the former and comments thereon by the latter. An interesting Prayer Book Revision pamphlet.

The Deposited Prayer Book. By Viscount Sandon. New York: Longmans, 1927, pp. 63. \$20.

This pamphlet is a narrowly Protestant attack on the Deposited Prayer Book. There are the usual references to 'priestcraft,' 'idolatry,' and 'superstition." W. F. W.

Miscellaneous

The Essays of Montaigne. Translated by E. J. Trechmann, with an int. by J. M. Robertson. Two vols. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. 1 + 561, vi + 614. \$3.00.

It has been known for some time that the definitive edition of Montaigne would be based upon the Bordeaux MS., the publication of which has already taken place in France. This MS., or rather copy of the 1588 edition, contains the author's final corrections and additions, and is now in the Municipal Library of Bordeaux, of which Montaigne proudly called himself, on the title-page of the second edition (1582) 'Maire & Gouverneur.' The bare fact that Mr. Trechmann's translation is based upon the Bordeaux copy is sufficient to ensure its supplanting earlier versions, provided no better rendering appears. Its advantage over the other modern translation, also based on the Bordeaux text, is that it is complete, and does not leave untranslated certain passages which the taste of to-day is supposed not to approve. In this the author follows the example of the older translators. In their new dress the 'moral essays' of Montaigne, which have influenced English and American thought almost since their first publication, are likely to gain a still wider circle of readers.

An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. By Ronald B. McKerrow. Oxford Univ. Press (New York: American Branch), 1927, pp. xv + 359. \$6.00.

While not intended for an exhaustive treatise, or a work of reference, or a guide to book collectors, this volume furnishes in ample quantity the necessary information about the 'making of books', printing, binding, format, decoration, editions, and so on, that is required by literary students and investigators. It is of course thoroughly historical, and will be found practically useful not only by professional or other 'literary students', and librarians, but by all persons interested in the making, collection, and preservation of books.

Songs of Deliverance. Second Series. Anon. New York: Longmans, 1927, pp. 61. \$2.00.

Christian Science lyrics, "written after meditation on the Christian Science Quarterly Bible Lessons for each week" from Jan. 2 to Oct. 2 of 1927. Some of them are quite beautiful, but what is the sense of 'deliverance' in the following?

"The cripple from his mother's womb
Is our distempered dream" (p. 38).

The Journal of Kenkō. By Herbert H. Gowen. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Book Store, 1927, pp. 38. \$.65.

Dr. Gowen's account of the "Musings of a Japanese Qoheleth in the Fourteenth Century" appeared originally in *The Open Court* magazine. It has now been most attractively reprinted in the "University of Washington Chapbooks." The possibility of a cross-influence from Buddhism upon Judaism in the third century B. C. is pointed out (p. 12); if the author of Ecclesiastes lived in Alexandria he might easily have come 'face to face with Buddhist teaching.'

Why Imported Books Cost So Much. By George P. Brett. New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. 8.

A plea for a revision of the Treasury Department's ruling whereby the intention of Congress, in its tariff on books, is defeated and a heavy tax placed upon American learning. We have all complained about this for some time—i.e., all of us who are students and have need of imported books—and we earnestly hope that the onerous and unnecessary burden will soon be lifted; especially since those who might be expected to profit, if anyone profits, by the heavy assessment of duty on English books, have themselves taken the initiative in appealing for a reduction.

The Living Church Annual, 1928. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1927, pp. xlii + 672 ill. Paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.50.

The *Living Church Annual* is the indispensable reference book on the American Church. It is seven years since, at the age of forty, it was combined with the *American Church Almanac* (now in its ninety-eighth year) and the *Churchman's Almanac* (æt. 75); and during the seven years it has not only occupied the field alone, without a competitor, but has been enlarged and its usefulness further increased. In addition to full and accurate statistics, addresses, etc., for the National Church and its organizations, the dioceses and missionary districts, educational and other institutions, and the general clergy list, it gives an *Annual Cyclopædia of the Church* and an Editorial summary. These summary statistics show an increase of 48 clergy, 54 parishes and missions, nearly 18,000 communicants, 1,100 Church School teachers, 1,400 pupils (over 1926); but a decrease of 4,172 in number of baptisms. The new totals are 1,789,042 baptized persons; 1,218,941 communicants; 495,894 Church School pupils; 8,400 parishes and missions; 6,207 clergy.

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And what is writ is writ,—
Would it were worthier!

—*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, iv. 185.

Croire tout découvert est une erreur profonde,
C'est prendre l'horizon pour les bornes du monde.

—*Lemierre*.

Nei lavori pubblici si trattino i lavoratori di campagna in tal modo amorevolmente, che piuttosto venghino volontari che forzati.

—*Machiavelli*.

The first of these mottoes may be understood as a modern "Authors' Apology to the Reader"—it voices a sentiment naturally felt by anyone upon a review of his earlier writings; the second speaks for the Indexer; while the third is set down in the name of all, editors and contributors alike, who have collaborated during the past ten years in the production of this REVIEW. It is a "public work" which we have had in hand; and it is distinctly as "voluntary" laborers that we have carried it on. No one has been paid, except in the satisfaction felt in helping to meet an obvious need of the Church. No one supposes that this need has been completely and exhaustively met: least of all the editors and those responsible for conducting the enterprise. At the same time, the existence of the need has been fully demonstrated; and we trust that with more adequate support and a steadily increasing circulation the next decade will witness a more adequate fulfilment of our responsibilities. Hence we bespeak that "benevolent treatment" which is more the due of volunteer than of compulsory workmen.

The sole aim and justification of an Index is utility. The present one has been devised to serve the needs of theological students, teachers, and librarians, in facilitating reference to the articles, notes, reviews and notices of current literature

contained in Volumes i-x of this journal. The plan is as follows:

I. ARTICLES

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- (2) Articles, arranged by subject, with names of authors.

II. REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Authors of books reviewed or noticed, in alphabetical order.

From its inception this REVIEW has specialized in Theological Bibliography. The Index has been added in order to make its contribution more complete in this field. Students will now have little difficulty in looking up the material it contains in the various departments of Theology.

At the end has been added a list of the more important *Corrigenda*.

F. C. G.

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- I. 125. Delete ll. 9-14.
435. 'Batten.'
- V. 36. 'Machen.'
- VII. 23. *O. Söhngen; R. Arnou.*
403. line 37, read: See Vol. viii. 54-56.
405. 'Bousset.'
409. 'Pringle-Pattison.'
420. 'Parish.'
- VIII. 370. 'William Clayton Bower.'
- IX. 203. 'Gantillon.'
225. 'Giacometti.'
- X. 87. Delete last line.





Thomas March Clark

Fifth Bishop of Rhode Island

A Memoir by His Daughter

Mary Clark Sturtevant

Edited by Latta Griswold, M.A.

With a Preface by the

Bishop of Rhode Island

It has long been desired that an account of the life of Thomas March Clark, sometime Bishop of Rhode Island and Presiding Bishop of the Church, should be permanently recorded. Perhaps it has been due to the understanding among the Bishop's friends that his daughter, Mrs. Mary Clark Sturtevant, was preparing such a memoir of her father that has led to such a long delay. The bulk of the present volume is the work of Mrs. Sturtevant, the first two sections of the book being practically as she wrote them out. During the later years of the Bishop's episcopate, Mrs. Sturtevant's narrative was less full, and it has been deemed advisable to amplify it by reminiscences contributed by his friends.

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